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COMMUNISM IN THE DETROIT AREA — PART 1

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS

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COMMUNISM IN THE DETROIT AREA—PART 1

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1952

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Detroit, Mich.

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met pursuant to call at 1:30 p. m. in room 740, Federal Building, in Detroit, Mich., the Honorable John S. Wood (chairman), presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood, Morgan M. Moulder, Donald L. Jackson, and Charles E. Potter.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., assistant counsel; Donald T. Appell and Jackson Jones, investigators; and John W. Carrington, clerk.

Mr. Wood. Let the committee be in order.

Mr. Reporter, please let the record show that acting under authority of the resolution establishing the House Committee on Un-American Activities of the Seventy-ninth Congress of the United States, I have set up a subcommittee for the purpose of conducting the hearings in the Detroit area composed of the following members: Messrs. Moulder, Jackson, Potter, and Wood, who are all present.

The Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives from time to time has investigated un-American activities of fascism, nazism and other totalitarian "isms" designed to overthrow by force and violence the constitutional form of Government under which we live. It will be remembered that while this committee was engaged in the investigation of Nazi activities during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact, the Communist Party was publicly supporting Hitler.

This committee has devoted much of its time in the past few years to the subject of communism because communism is the only movement presently directed from abroad. The Communist conspiracy in many forms, including that of espionage by foreign agents, has been brought to light in investigations conducted by this committee. Communist infiltration into the entertainment, educational, governmental, labor, and other fields of endeavor has been exposed by this committee in its effort to carry out the duties imposed upon it by the Congress.

Investigation in the city of Baltimore, the State of Massachusetts, and other places has disclosed a concentration of Communist effort in certain defense areas of the country. It will be remembered that dur-

ing the Massachusetts hearing, Herbert A. Philbrick detailed the method by which the Communist Party of Massachusetts used its members employed in industry to keep the national organization of the Communist Party and the international Communist movement fully advised of industrial potentialities in that area. There is no area of greater importance to the Nation as a whole, both in time of peace and in time of war, than the general area of Detroit which won the title, "The Arsenal of Democracy." The purpose of this investigation is to determine first, whether there has been Communist activity in this vital defense area, and if so, the nature, extent, character, and objects thereof.

Anticipating from our experience in other important investigations the smear campaign which will be directed against this committee by the Communists' slander apparatus, I wish to clear up certain possible misconceptions at the outset.

It will be alleged by the Communists and their apologists that this committee is motivated by a desire to injure the labor movement. Nothing could be further from the truth as will be demonstrated by an impartial review of the investigations conducted by this committee over the past few years. The committee has succeeded to a marked degree in exposing Communist infiltration into certain labor unions, with the result in many instances that the unions involved rid themselves of Communist domination and influence. In other instances, local unions have endorsed and supported the committee's work. The committee is not interested in internal disputes within labor or in disputes between management and labor. It has a legislative duty to investigate and expose Communist activities and that is its purpose in appearing here.

You will also be told by the Communists and their fellow travelers that this committee is motivated by a desire to raise racial issues. This typical propaganda effort on the part of the Communists has been worn threadbare. They would have you forget that it was this committee which gave Jackie Robinson the opportunity to refute the statement made by Paul Robeson and to say to loyal Americans everywhere:

I and other Americans of many races and faiths have too much invested in our country's welfare, for any of us to throw it away because of a siren song sung in bass. I am a religious man. Therefore, I cherish America where I am free to worship as I please, a privilege which some countries do not give. And I suspect that 999 out of almost any thousand colored Americans you meet will tell you the same thing.

The committee deplores exploitation of racial groups by the Communist Party. This committee believes in the basic integrity, character and loyalty of all Americans, regardless of race and creed and predicts there will be no questions as to the ultimate decision by Americans when informed of the true facts relating to the alleged Communist conspiracy in their midst.

I would like also at this time, before beginning the hearings, to make this announcement to the public:

We are here at the direction of the Congress of the United States trying to discharge a duty and obligation that has been placed upon us by the Congress. Nobody who is present or who will be present in this room during the hearings, except the witnesses who are subpoenaed, are required to be here. You are here by the permission of

the committee and not by any compulsion of the committee. This committee will not countenance any attempt or effort on the part of anybody to make any demonstration, either favorable or unfavorable, toward the committee's undertaking or to what any person called as a witness may have to say.

I do not mean to say this in any spirit of threat, but if such conduct should occur, I am going to promptly ask the officers to eject those who start or attempt to start any demonstration in the room, and if necessary, clear the entire room.

Mr. Counsel, are you ready to proceed?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. You may proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. The first witness is Mr. Richard Franklin O'Hair.

Mr. WOOD. It has been brought to my attention, gentlemen, that there are some motion-picture cameras in the audience. I regret very much, under the rules of the House, it cannot be permitted and, therefore, if there are any such cameras they will please be removed from the hearing room.

Are you Mr. O'Hair?

TESTIMONY OF RICHARD FRANKLIN O'HAIR

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Will you please stand and be sworn?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Do you solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. O'HAIR. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. O'HAIR. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. I would like to announce at the beginning of the hearing, it is the uniform policy of this committee when witnesses are subpoenaed before the committee, that they are entitled to counsel of their own choice and are at liberty to confer with such counsel at any time they may see fit during the progress of their testimony.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. O'Hair, will you state your full name, please?

Mr. O'HAIR. Richard Franklin O'Hair.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. O'Hair?

Mr. O'HAIR. Chicago, Ill., June 23, 1913.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. O'HAIR. Johnson City, N. Y.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you at any time lived in Detroit?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you first come to Detroit?

Mr. O'HAIR. 1942.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain in Detroit?

Mr. O'HAIR. Until, I believe, May 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee briefly what your educational background has been?

Mr. O'HAIR. Grammar school, high school, vocational school, business college, and one term at the Chicago Academy of Fine Arts.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like for you to state also what your employment record has been, and I believe it would be satisfactory if you would begin with the time when you came to Detroit in 1942.

Mr. O'HAIR. In 1942 I secured employment with Federal Mogul as a millwright helper. Then later on when they set up a plant protection force at Federal Mogul, marine division, which is a subsidiary of Federal Mogul, Bill Putnam, who was chief of plant protection for Federal Mogul Corp., asked me how I would like a job with the marine division. I was there a number of months and from there I went to the Pere Marquette Railroad as a fireman and worked there a year and then transferred, for personal reasons, to the Grand Trunk Western Railroad as a fireman. I terminated my employment with them just prior to leaving Detroit.

At the time that I quit Grand Trunk Western Railroad, I was working in their department of investigation.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was it that you left Detroit?

Mr. O'HAIR. I believe it was May 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the time when you were employed at the Federal Mogul, marine division, were you interviewed by agents of the Military Intelligence Department?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. As the result of your interviews with them, were you referred to another agency, an investigative agency of the United States Government?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. As the result of your reference to an investigative agency of the Government, did you become a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that?

Mr. O'HAIR. It would have been early—in the early part of 1943 I signed an application card for membership into the Communist Party at an Earl Browder rally that was held at the Graystone Ballroom, up on Woodward Avenue. I can't recall the exact date. The chap who recruited me into the party, his name was Harry Glassgold.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell that name, please?

Mr. O'HAIR. Harry Glassgold, G-l-a-s-s-g-o-l-d.

Mr. TAVENNER. Harry Glassgold was the person who recruited you into the party?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. After you were recruited into the party, did you make reports to a Government investigative agency of your experiences in the party?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. Over how long a period of time did you continue with that work?

Mr. O'HAIR. 1943 to the spring of 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated that Harry Glassgold was the person who recruited you into the party. Will you give the committee, please, any information you recall regarding the background of Mr. Glassgold, how he was employed, and any other information that would be of value to the committee, in your opinion?

Mr. O'HAIR. Harry Glassgold was an artist, watercolor was his favorite type of expression. I believe there are, or is a water color that hangs up in the Detroit Art Institute that was created by him. He earned his living as a hand stamper or hand letterer at the

time I knew him. He worked for a while with a local advertising firm by the name of Bass-Luckhoff. He was a very busy fellow, as in his spare time he carried on studies at Wayne University, including his organizational activities for the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. I was just going to ask you whether or not he held a position in the Communist Party?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes. At the time that I was assigned to his club, he was organizational secretary of that club.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the club? Or, did it have a name at the time you joined it?

Mr. O'HAIR. At that time it was known as branch 1, section 5, Communist Party, United States of America.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did it hold its meetings?

Mr. O'HAIR. It held its meetings at 10 West Warren. That is the corner building. The first floor is taken up with a drug store called Max's Drug Store, and there is a bar and tavern and some other little stores, and then upstairs is office space. We had a double office up there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there any common bond of interest between the members of that group? I mean, were there persons engaged in one particular line of endeavor or members of any particular group?

Mr. O'HAIR. No, sir. The membership here appeared to be general and made up of people who had been assigned to that unit, due to their residence.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell the committee what arrangements were made for the rental of the space that was used by it in conducting its meetings?

Mr. O'HAIR. It was explained to me by Harry Glassgold that the lease for the office space was procured by a dentist by the name of Vern Piazza.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you spell the name?

Mr. O'HAIR. I do not know how to spell it.

Mr. TAVENNER. P-i-a-z-z-a?

Mr. O'HAIR. I believe so. It sounds that way.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, proceed.

Mr. O'HAIR. That this dentist had procured the office and signed the lease and then under the cover of that lease, Glassgold was able to establish the headquarters for branch 1, section 5 of the Communist Party, United States of America, at that location.¹

Mr. WOOD. Do you know Dr. Piazza?²

Mr. O'HAIR. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Have you ever met him?

Mr. O'HAIR. I have seen him a time or two, but was never introduced to him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of your group of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. O'HAIR. As far as I am aware, no.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have any personal knowledge of his knowledge of the purposes for which this property was being used?

¹ Investigation by the committee, including contacts with the rental agent, confirmed that space at 10 East Warren was rented by Dr. Vern Piazza.

² See testimony of Bereniece "Toby" Baldwin, p. 2926.

Mr. O'HAIR. No, sir; I do not. All I have is Harry Glassgold's statement that he rented the office, and apparently, according to Glassgold, it was a smooth trick.

I gather more or less from intimation that Piazza was aware that branch 1, section 5 was going to have their office there, but it is abstract. That is my knowledge concerning Piazza's knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the officers of branch 1, section 5, to which you were assigned?

Mr. O'HAIR. Harry Glassgold was organizational secretary; Thomas Anderson, as I recall, was educational director.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell Anderson?

Mr. O'HAIR. A-n-d-e-r-s-o-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who else?

Mr. O'HAIR. Sis Cunningham, I believe, was literature director, S-i-s Cunningham.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us more identifying information regarding Sis Cunningham?

Mr. O'HAIR. At the time I knew Sis Cunningham, she was working at the district office of the Communist Party, that would be district 7. That is when they were having their offices, their district offices, over on Grand River. I believe the address was 2415 Grand River, upstairs.

Sis Cunningham was married to a newspaper reporter for the Detroit Times, I do believe, a fellow by the name of Gordon Friesen.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the last name?

Mr. O'HAIR. F-r-i-e-s-e-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the staff has checked that matter and Mr. Friesen left the employment of the newspaper referred to in 1944, to accept employment in the OWI.

Mr. JACKSON. That is the Office of War Information?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. PORTER. Does counsel have knowledge of his present employment?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir. Mr. O'Hair, do you know anything of the present whereabouts of Mr. Friesen?

Mr. O'HAIR. No, sir, I do not except that when they left Detroit, they were reported to have moved to New York City, N. Y.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us any further descriptive information regarding the background of Sis Cunningham?

Mr. O'HAIR. Sis Cunningham was, as I was told, one of the Almanac Singers, some years ago when that was a popular organization of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether she was a native of Detroit?

Mr. O'HAIR. No. My understanding of the matter was that she was an Oklahoman.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have stated that both she and her husband were affiliated with this group. I do not recall whether you placed them in any official position in this group of the party or not.

Mr. O'HAIR. Sis Cunningham was, I believe, literature director.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you name other persons who were officers and then I will ask you to name those who were members of this group.

Mr. O'HAIR. Gus Anderson was financial secretary of this organization and also was a painter. By that I mean he was in the line of interior decoration and exterior decoration and a member of the AFL.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Counsel, will you suspend just a moment so that I may make an announcement to the audience that is here?

We are permitted to use these quarters by the courtesy of the custodian of this building and I regret very much that I am going to have to ask the audience to refrain from smoking in the room. If you have to smoke, of course, you can go outside but I will have to invoke that rule because it is the rule in this building. So please, do not smoke in the hearing room.

Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are there any other persons whose names you can now recall who held official positions in branch 1 of section 5 of the Communist Party?

Mr. O'HAIR. No. There is one other woman, but I have since—her name slips my mind and that would be about all, as far as the officers of that organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you proceed to name those who were members of this group?

Mr. O'HAIR. Ann Beiswenger. As I recall, she, too, had a function or did work down at the district office of district 7—district 7 office at Grand River. I understand, too, that she was at the Lenin University in 1931 or 1932, either a student or employee.

Dewey Garrett: G-a-r-r-e-t-t. He was a machine tool operator in one of the Detroit industries.

Edna Glassgold: That would be the wife of Harry Glassgold. She came here from New York City. She was a member, I believe, of the Theater Guild in New York City. She was here a number of months, possibly six or maybe a few more. During her stay in Detroit, she took employment with the Ford Motor Car Co. I was told that the purpose there was to remove a foreman¹ in one of the departments at the Ford Motor Car Co., that was interfering or impeding a certain project that the Communist Party had in mind regarding that area. I don't recall the exact type of frame that was used on the fellow, but it was of sufficient weight to cause the company to discharge him.

After this little assignment was over with, Edna quit her job with the Ford Motor Car Co. and returned to New York City.

Mr. Wood. The discharge of that party was accomplished?

Mr. O'HAIR. That was the way it was told to me, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you proceed?

Mr. O'HAIR. Frank Igleaisa; I-g-l-e-a-i-s-a.² He, too, was a member of the AFL painters' union. I believe it was a year or a year and a half later that I was approached by a functionary of the Communist Party—I don't recall this date or whether it was in my own club or another club—with the request that would I have any objections to allowing my small apartment at 68 East Warren Avenue, to be used by Frank Igleisas and John Issacs—

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell that last name, please?

¹In May 1943, Edna Glassgold, then employed in the Motor Building, filed charges against Arthur O'Brien, Jack Yerex, and James Fraccassi, Motor Building committeemen. The charge, failing to properly represent Edna Glassgold before management, was upheld by a trial committee. On May 23, 1943, the general council, Ford Local 600, confirmed the guilty findings of the trial committee but reduced the penalty by permitting the defendants to return to work without retroactive pay and not permitting defendants to hold office for duration of term of office then in effect.

²Frank Iglesias.

Mr. O'HAIR. John I-s-s-a-c-c-s¹ for a little conference that Frank Igleisas and John Issacs and a few of their friends wanted to hold. So on the appointed night Frank Igleisas and John Issacs showed up and nobody else appeared. They discussed the AFL convention that was to be held in Chicago that year. They were laying the ground work then for opposition from the floor of that convention by friendly members or friendly delegates of the AFL.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you speak of "friendly delegates," friendly to whom?

Mr. O'HAIR. Friendly to the cause of John Issacs and Frank Igleisas, the Communist Party. Apparently I was not too familiar with the issues involved in that convention of the AFL, but there were several that were disapproved of by John Issacs and Frank Igleisas and they were attempting to—their strategy being as I recall, was to form a block, in other words, so that the motion could not carry from the floor.

I understand later, from what I read in the newspapers, that it was unsuccessful. The particular motions they were against were carried.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you proceed?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes, sir. Mary Reed Page.² Sometimes she went under the name of Mary Page, and sometimes under the name of Mary Reed. She was the wife of Fred Page and quite a tomboy, as I recall. She drove a taxicab during the time I knew her here in the city. I had seen her at functions other than the club, the Communist Party club, of which she was a member, namely, the one I had belonged to.

John Issacs was apparently, to my way of understanding, a baker. I do not know too much about the man. He was very close-mouthed and, outside of the one or two individuals that he contacted at the meetings and functions wherein I had seen him, he didn't associate too much with the general membership.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell his last name?

Mr. O'HAIR. I-s-s-a-c-c-s.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. O'Hair, were you present at the conference between these two gentlemen?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes; I was.

Mr. JACKSON. Was it your impression that their opposition to the resolutions which were to be offered was original with them, or were they discussing the implementation of a directive which they appeared to have received?

Mr. O'HAIR. They were discussing the implementation of a directive.

Mr. JACKSON. Of a directive?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes, of a directive.

Mr. JACKSON. That came out during the course of their conversation?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes. But the source of the directive was never made clear to me.

Mr. JACKSON. But it was obvious to you—was it?—that they had received, from a third party or a third person, instructions to put forward opposition to certain resolutions?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is true.

¹ John Issacs.

² Now Mrs. Mary Davis, an employee of local 600.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you proceed?

Mr. O'HAIR. Reva Redstone was a maiden lady who was a receptionist and kept the books and ran the office of her brothers, who were architects here. They had an office in near downtown section here in Detroit.

Reva held no office as a functionary in the party. As I recall, she was from time to time associated with the Daily Worker committee, and I knew her during her membership with the Daily Worker committee for the club. She and I on many Sundays, Sunday afternoons, would go down into the Greek neighborhood and sell the Daily Workers.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain a member of branch 1, section 5 of the Communist Party?

Mr. O'HAIR. From 1943 until 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. Your entire period of membership then was devoted to that club?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did it change its name at any later time?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes. It was known a short time after as the Midtown Communist Party Club, and then later on when they switched back from the Political Association to the Communist Party, U. S., it was known as the Midtown Club of the Communist Party, U. S. A.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hold any official positions in the club, in this particular club?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes. After the first 6 or 7 months that I had been a member, I was a member of the membership committee. At that time they were having some difficulty in motivating their large membership. So, it was decided that they would set up membership captains; in other words, the total membership of the club would be divided into units of 5 or 10 and for these units a membership captain would be appointed, whose job it was to contact these members, solicit their dues, and encourage them to attend meetings.

Following that, I became a member of the press committee and the Daily Worker committee. In 1944 I became a member of the executive committee of that organization and remained a member of the executive committee until late in 1946. In order to be a member of the executive committee, you have to be a chairman of a committee.

So that I can explain it a little more fully, it was divided this way: You had a membership chairman. You had an educational chairman. You had a literature chairman, and sometimes, depending on how they felt about it, you had a financial chairman. Usually the organization's secretary took care of that.

Then each one of these chairmen had a committee which would have anywhere from three to four members. These committees would meet twice a month, and the general membership would meet twice a month. In other words, we would start off one week with an executive meeting and the next week would be a general membership meeting. The program for the membership, general membership, the issues involved, having been decided at the previous executive meeting, the meetings were blueprinted.

During my time as an executive committee member of this organization, I believe I was on, as I recall it, the press committee, and I was a delegate to the East Side Council. At one time I was on the political-action committee too, and as such I attended—

Mr. TAVENNER. When you say "political-action committee," the political-action committee of what organization?

Mr. O'HAIR. Of the Communist Party. I was a delegate from my club to one or two district meetings that were held for Wayne County and that were held at the Lawyers' Building, on the ninth floor. I believe it was sometime between 1944 and 1945 they moved from 2415 Grand River; that is, the district office of the Communist Party of the State of Michigan had moved its location from 2415 Grand River to the ninth floor of the Lawyers' Building in downtown Detroit, and these meetings were held in the district office in the Lawyers' Building.

Then I attended as a member of the press committee—I attended several State press meetings and then one convention, one Daily Worker convention that was held, I believe, in 1945 at the Mirror Ballroom on upper Woodward Avenue. Then in 1946, until I left in 1947, I was a delegate to the East Side Council of the Communist Party, District Michigan.

Mr. TAVENNER. Before going into your functions in that respect, in regard to that office, as a member of the East Side Council, I want to go back to the beginning of your membership and ask you to explain a little more in detail how your meetings functioned and how the Communist Party functioned when you first became a member of it.

Mr. O'HAIR. I take that to mean the structure of our meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is right, and how frequently you met and what you did.

Mr. O'HAIR. As I have stated previously, we had one—we had two executive meetings a month and two general membership meetings a month. The general membership meeting would follow an executive meeting, in which the course of the general membership meeting was outlined as to educational programs and the issues which had come down, or the projects, the directives, that had come down from the district office. They were discussed by members of the executive committee and sometimes the committee acted on those and put them into effect without consulting the general membership. At other times, the general membership was consulted, that is, they were allowed to have a little discussion but the will of the district prevailed and the directive was enforced.

A meeting of a general membership nature would usually start with a collection of dues or reminder by the organizational secretary or the membership director that dues were in arrears and they would like to have prompt payment. Then that would be followed with an educational program, which was usually delivered by the educational director of the club or the unit. In turn, there would be a discussion on that. There would be a discussion on that in which the general membership would participate.

Then the literature director, who was charged with having a complete line of pamphlets and books on Communist Party educational material, would go among the members and stress the purchase of certain of these books and pamphlets which usually pertained to the issue of the day that the Communist Party was involved in.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, there was a training course within your club composed of the study of the Communist Party literature, which you had been expected to buy?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have any list with you of Communist Party literature which you acquired?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Which you acquired during the course of your membership in the party?

Mr. O'HAIR. I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think it would be well at this time to read into the record what that literature consisted of.

Mr. O'HAIR (reading).

Allen, James S.: World Monopoly and Peace.
 Bloor, Ella Reeve: We Are Many.
 Burns, Emile (edited by): Handbook of Marxism.
 Dimitroff, Georgi: The United Front.
 Dutt, R. Palme: Britain in the World Front.
 Eisler, Nordon & Schreiner: The Lesson of Germany.
 Lozovsky, A.: Marx and the Trade-Unions.
 Marx, Karl: Capital.
 Seldes, George: The Catholic Crisis.
 Selsam, Howard: What Is Philosophy?
 Scott, John: Ethics of Evolution.
 Stone, Gilbert: A History of Labour.
 White, D. Fedotoff: The Growth of the Red Army.

PAMPHLETS

Allen, James S.: Who Owns America.
 Browder, Earl: Victory and After.
 Dennis, Eugene: America at the Crossroads; Postwar Problems and Communist Policy.
 Dennis, Eugene: Is Communism Un-American?
 Dennis, Eugene: Let the People Know. (The Truth About the Communists Which the Un-American Committee Tried to Suppress.)
 Dennis, Eugene: The People Against the Trusts.
 Farren, Harry Desmond: Capitalism or Communism.
 Fast, Howard: May Day, 1947.
 Fernsworth, Lawrence: Vatican and the War. A Task for Liberal Catholics.
 Foster, William Z.: American Trade-Unionism.
 Foster, William Z.: Organized Labor and the Fascist Danger.
 Foster, William Z.: Our Country Needs a Strong Communist Party.
 Foster, William Z.: Quarantine the Warmongers.
 Foster, William Z.: The Meaning of the Nine-Party Communist Conference.
 Foster, William Z.: The New York Herald Tribune's 23 Questions About the Communist Party, Answered by William Z. Foster.
 Foster, William Z.: The Strike Situation and Organized Labor's Wage and Job Strategy.
 Foster, William Z.: The Trade-Unions and the War.
 Foster, William Z.: Workers, Defend Your Unions.
 Gannett, Betty: The Communist Party and You.
 Garlin, Sender: Enemies of the Peace; Profits of the "Hate Russia" Gang.
 Henson, Dr. George S.: Make Mine Freedom.
 Hoke, Henry: It's a Secret. (The Shocking Truth Behind the Sedition Trials.)
 Johnson, Hewlett: Dean of Canterbury: The Soviet Power.
 King, Willisford I.: The Keys to Prosperity.
 Lenin, V. I.: The Young Generation.
 McConkey, Darel: Out of Your Pocket. (The Story of Cartels.)
 McDevitte, Harry S.: Communism and American Youth.
 Marx, Karl: Value, Price, and Profit (edited by Eleanor Marx Aveling).
 Miller, Moses: Crisis in Palestine.
 Mindel, J.: Outline for the Study of the Nature of the War and Problems of the War Economy.
 Mitchell, Louise: How to Fight High Prices.
 Morris, George: The Red-Baiting Racket and How It Works.
 Morris, George: The Trotskyite Fifth Column in the Labor Movement.

Oak, Liston M.: Communist Strategy and Tactics.

Raymond, Harry: Dixie Comes to New York. Story of the Freeport GI Slayings.

Sayers, Michael and Kahn, Albert E.: The Great Conspiracy Against Russia. Schendel, Herman: Why Work for Nothing?

Spivak, John L.: Pattern for American Fascism.

Stalin, Joseph: Defects in Party Work and Measures for Liquidating Trotskyite and other Double-Dealers.

Stalin, Joseph: Mastering Bolshevism.

Stalin, Joseph: Problems of Leninism.

Tank, Herb: Inside Job. (The Story of Trotskyite Intrigue in the Labor Movement.)

Toole, H. M.: Communist Action vs. Catholic Action.

Zetkin, Clara: Lenin on the Woman Question.

Then there were miscellaneous works which were not considered miscellaneous by the party, such as the "Constitution of the U. S. S. R." and the "Marxist Study Series No. 1: the Theory and Practice of the Communist Party."

MR. TAVENNER. Do you recall seeing the Communist Manifesto as part of the Communist literature at those meetings?

MR. O'HAIR. Yes.

MR. TAVENNER. Do you also recall the use of "State and Revolution" by Lenin?

MR. O'HAIR. Yes.

MR. TAVENNER. Were they required reading by the Communist Party?

MR. O'HAIR. Yes. They were included in the little works of Lenin, which every time they had a raffle or every time they wanted to raise a little money, or you were extra good at some organizational finance-raising scheme, you were rewarded with a set of these books, and they were also on sale at the book store and by the literature directors for the various clubs.

MR. TAVENNER. In that set that you referred to, I believe there are as many as 31 books, are there not?

MR. O'HAIR. That is true; yes, sir.

MR. JACKSON. Would these various publications extend over a long period of time, I mean with reference to your membership, or were most of them or a great many of them to be found at any given meeting which you attended?

MR. O'HAIR. The books, the hard-bound and some of the larger cloth-bound or paper-bound volumes, were continuous. The pamphlets which sold for a nickel or 2 cents, sometimes 3, maybe a dime, were more pertinent. They pertained to the party program or the issues involved, say, within a 30- or a 60-day period possibly.

MR. JACKSON. Current matters?

MR. O'HAIR. Current matters, yes, sir. And they would be sold at each general membership meeting. At the time, however, the Communist Party Book Store was always open, and members were invited to augment their reading material from purchases at these book stores.

MR. POTTER. Mr. O'Hair, where were the party book stores located?

MR. O'HAIR. There was one, as I recall in this area—when the office of district 7 of the Communist Party of the State of Michigan was located at 2415 Grand River, the book store was located across the street from it. Then, later on, when the district office of district 7 of the Communist Party of the State of Michigan moved to the Lawyers' Building, the book store was incorporated within the district office in the Lawyers' Building.

Mr. WOOD. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understand you paid dues as a member of branch 1, section 5 Club of the Communist Party?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. What dues did you pay? That is, what was the amount of the dues?

Mr. O'HAIR. In 1946, the dues were the following: Incomes over \$60 per week, \$2 per month; incomes \$25 to \$60 per week, \$1 per month; incomes under \$25 per week, 35 cents a month; and unemployed paid 10 cents a month.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is that record which you are referring to?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is a membership card, 1946 membership card in the Communist Party, U. S. A.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it the card issued to you?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes. It is issued in the name of Richard O'Hair, Detroit, Mich., and it is signed by Carl Winter.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you object to it being introduced as an exhibit so that it may be photostated and returned to you after it has been photostated?

Mr. O'HAIR. I have no objections.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer his card in evidence and ask that it be marked "O'Hair exhibit 1."

Mr. WOOD. The document may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "O'Hair exhibit No. 1," and received in evidence.)¹

Mr. WOOD. And would you please let the members of the committee examine it.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. MOULDER. May I ask one question?

The question was asked you, What dues did you pay? You did not answer that question.

Mr. O'HAIR. Well, that would depend upon the amount of money that I was making. At the time I was firing on the railroad and probably making \$135 every 2 weeks' period, so I was paying \$2 a month.

Mr. MOULDER. In the beginning I did not clearly understand the cause for your becoming a member of the Communist Party, of this section, branch 1 of section 5.

Mr. O'HAIR. It was at the request of the Government agency.

Mr. MOULDER. What Government agency was that?

Mr. O'HAIR. The Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. MOULDER. Were you so employed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. O'HAIR. As an undercover agent.

Mr. MOULDER. Were you paid a salary?

Mr. O'HAIR. No, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. How many members belonged to branch 1, section 5?

Mr. O'HAIR. It fluctuated. At one time I think there were close to 300, and then it would drop down to 147, sometimes as low as 100.

Mr. MOULDER. Can you give us more detailed information on what

¹ See p. 2724.

O'Hair Exhibit No. 1

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF PARTY MEMBERS

To attend club meetings, read the Party press and literature, pay dues regularly and be active on behalf of the program and policies of the Party.

To at all times loyally defend the interests of the workingclass against the forces of fascism and reaction.

To fight against all forms of national oppression, discrimination and segregation, and all ideological influences and practices of "racial" theories.

To fight for the full social, political and economic equality of the Negro people, for Negro and white unity.

To participate in working out all policies and tasks of the club, and to regularly examine the execution of such policies.

To vote for all officers, committees and delegates, and be elected to any office or committee in accord with provisions of the Constitution.

To appeal any decision with which there is disagreement to the next higher body, carrying out the decision while appeal is pending.

To strive to master the program and policies of the Party, the principles of Marxism-Leninism.



200

No. 55391

1946 MEMBERSHIP CARD
COMMUNIST PARTY
of the U.S.A.

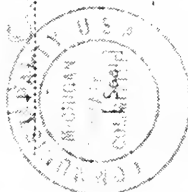
Name

City

State

Date Issued

Signature of State Chairman



1946 DUES

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1945 DUES

3rd QUARTER

4th QUARTER

INITIATION
STAMP

C.P.A. 1945
Convention
Assessment
50¢

DUES RATES

	per mo.
Income over 60.00 per week	\$2.00
Income \$25.00 to 60.00 per week	\$1.00
Income under \$25.00 per week	35¢
Unemployed	10¢

Read the DAILY WORKER
and the WORKER
Read our Monthly Magazine
POLITICAL AFFAIRS

caused your employment by the FBI, what contact resulted in your employment?

Mr. O'HAIR. They contacted me and through their own methods they led up to the question: Would I have any objections to joining the Communist Party and to make reports of what transpired available to them?

Mr. MOULDER. And who asked you that?

Mr. O'HAIR. Who asked me that?

Mr. MOULDER. Yes.

Mr. O'HAIR. Do you want the gentleman's name?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I think possibly that is confidential.

Mr. MOULDER. That is all I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. O'Hair, I noticed attached to the card or folded in the card, your Communist Party card, is a receipt bearing date March 29, 1947, showing it was for membership dues for the Midtown branch and it is signed "Matilda." Will you examine that and state, if you can recall, who was the person that signed the receipt.

Mr. O'HAIR. That would be Matilda Maxwell, the wife of Jesse Parrish. Matilda Maxwell at that time was—oh, it would be hard to say—everybody in the executive committee chipped in and helped on the membership in the collection of dues, and I believe took this for Elinor Laffery Cook¹ who, as I recall, was the membership director of the organization at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know her present name?

Mr. O'HAIR. No; I do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what her occupation became at any later date?

Mr. O'HAIR. No. When I knew Elinor Laffery Cook, she was a school teacher in the public schools system in the city of Detroit.

Mr. WOOD. Was she at that time a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not she is still employed in the public school system of the city of Detroit?

Mr. O'HAIR. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, we have subpoenaed or endeavored to subpoena a person by the name of Elinor Cook Maki as to whom our information is it is the same person, but we have not been able to serve a subpoena upon her.

Will you tell the committee what plan there was, if any, on the part of the Communist Party, to solicit contributions from its members, aside from the matter of the payment of dues?

Mr. O'HAIR. Well, my memory is a little hazy on that. As I recall, there were assessments and I believe on that membership card there is an assessment stamp, and that was a convention assessment stamp of 50 cents. Most of the time it was outright donations. On several occasions they held picnics out here in the west end of Detroit for the purpose of raising funds. Other times there were little local places—I have in mind the small dance hall that sets back off of John R.—I can't recall the exact location or street but it will serve as an example—that was rented, and the party members held dances there.

¹ Now Mrs. Elinor Maki, whose testimony appears on pp. 2855-2860.

We bought warm beer at 35 cents a bottle and paid a like price for sandwiches or whatever else the members would put together and then sell in order to raise funds.

MR. TAVENNER. Was there any effort made to collect contributions or make assessments of substantial amounts?

MR. O'HAIR. That would not have been handled through a club unit. That would have been handled by a special person with a special listing. I mean they would have knowledge of who those money contacts were.

MR. TAVENNER. Well, do you know whether there were any special lists of persons who would be solicited for money for the Communist Party?

MR. O'HAIR. Yes. I was aware that it was known as Century Club, and that these people from time to time would be contacted for large-size contributions.

MR. TAVENNER. Do you know of your own knowledge of any persons who engaged in making such solicitations? I mean by that. Did you talk to anyone at any time who admitted to you that they had solicited for funds of the character you have described?

MR. O'HAIR. Yes. As I recall, it was just an open-and-shut statement that was made that there had been a tea party down at the Book-Cadillac Hotel——

MR. TAVENNER. Excuse me. I am not asking you to tell me something that someone told you about someone else.

MR. O'HAIR. No.

MR. TAVENNER. I am not asking for hearsay.

MR. O'HAIR. That is right.

MR. TAVENNER. I am asking for a situation where an individual told you that he or she had made solicitations of that character.

MR. O'HAIR. That is what I am building up to—that it was for the purpose of raising funds for some functionary—I recall it was an out-of-town functionary—and that they were very well pleased with the amount of money that had been raised, and this person was Ann Ganley, wife of Nat Ganley.

MR. TAVENNER. Was she a person known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

MR. O'HAIR. That is correct.

MR. WOOD. How do you spell that last name?

MR. O'HAIR. I believe it is G-a-n-l-e-y.

MR. TAVENNER. Do you know whether deportation proceedings were instituted against her at a later date?

MR. O'HAIR. That is correct.

MR. TAVENNER. And did you testify?

MR. O'HAIR. I was the identifying witness.

MR. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not she is at this time under order of deportation?

MR. O'HAIR. I would have no knowledge; no, sir.

MR. TAVENNER. You referred to the address a little while ago of the State headquarters of the Communist Party in Detroit——

MR. WOOD. May I ask a question to get the record perfectly straight:

Did you get information from this party as to the name or identity of any person that was contacted for the purpose of seeking contributions from them in substantial amounts?

Mr. O'HAIR. No, sir. As I recall, though, I was at her house one afternoon when she was mailing out announcements, a little letter or something, and there were considerable names. I think there were 25 or 30 of these envelopes all addressed, and she gave them to me with the request that I mail them. Her house, as I recall, was situated a good block and a half from I think it is Dexter, and there was a mail box on the corner, cater-cornered across the street, on the corner of Dexter, and I made a pass at the mail box and I came on down here to the Federal Building and I called my Bureau contact, and they met me across the street in a pool hall and they took the envelopes and I kicked around town for a while until they returned and handed me the envelopes back. Then I proceeded back up to Dexter and this street and put the envelopes in the box. At that time they were all zone numbered and the postal mark was on them. It had the zone too. I was afraid that if they weren't mailed from there, it might create some suspicion, so—

Mr. WOOD. But you yourself did not maintain a list of them?

Mr. O'HAIR. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You identified the address of the headquarters of the Michigan State organization of the Communist Party, and I believe you gave the number as 2415 or possibly it was 2419.

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes; something like that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know which it was?

Mr. O'HAIR. No; I have forgotten. It was probably 2419.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have told us where branch 1, section 5 of the Communist Party met when you first joined it. After the Communist Party changed its name to the Communist Political Association in 1944 and set up its neighborhood clubs, did the Midtown Club meet at the same place, or did it have another meeting place?

Mr. O'HAIR. It stayed for a while at the same place, and then moved down to—as I recall—3513 Woodward Avenue. It met upstairs there. It was a building with store fronts downstairs and small offices upstairs. Harry Glassgold at the time was running, during the week-days or week nights, an art studio there, so on our meeting days it would be available to us. And as I recall, from there we went over to the Twelve Horsemen's Club. That would be located at 114 Erskine Street. Later on it was known as the Civic Center. And then when the Communist Party dropped the "Political Association" and returned to Communist Party USA, and with the splitting up of the original Midtown Club into three units, we of the Midtown Club moved up on Brush Street, the 5700 block, as I recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you please tell the committee just what the Communist Party organization was in Detroit prior to the time the Communist Political Association was established—that is, what units there were of the party other than section 1, branch 5, prior to the establishment of the Communist Political Association.

Mr. O'HAIR. I imagine you are referring to factory branches. They had factory branches in which the personnel or employees of various factories became members of these Communist cells at the branch, at the factory where they worked and these branches were known by the name of—well, like it would be DeSoto plant or Briggs body. At the same time, they maintained their section councils and the district office.

Mr. TAVENNER. The district office was known as No. 7, I believe, according to your statement?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes. That is for the State of Michigan, yes. Then you would have your section councils, your State committees, and from there down you would have your branches, and they could be either community or factory branches.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, you stated that after a certain period of time the Midtown Club was divided into three branches.

Mr. O'HAIR. That is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the names of those three branches?

Mr. O'HAIR. Uptown, Midtown, and Downtown.

Mr. TAVENNER. The branch to which you belonged, or rather the section of branch 1 to which you belonged was No. 5. Can you describe the other branches—that is the first four, and whether or not there were more than five.

Mr. O'HAIR. No, sir, I cannot.

Mr. TAVENNER. Your knowledge is limited to the section which you were a member of?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is true; yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of the factory branches. Do you know what section they were concentrated in?

Mr. O'HAIR. They would have been concentrated throughout the automobile industry and other industries pertaining to the supply of either fabricated or material goods for the automobile industry.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, what change was there in the plan of organization of the party after the establishment of the Communist Political Association in 1944 and the temporary suspension of the Communist Party?

Mr. O'HAIR. If I get your question correctly, they disbanded or made an effort to disband their factory branches, and, in turn, brought these former members of the Communist Party factory branches into the neighborhood clubs, the purpose being to give it a wider community base in order to have a better chance of fulfilling their objectives which were threefold: The advancement of the Communist Party program in the trade-union movement, political, and the community life of the city of Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, will you state again what you have told the committee were the objectives of the Communist Party of Detroit?

Mr. O'HAIR. They felt that when they became a political association under Earl Browder that it was of prime importance to develop organizationally in the community; that they could carry on their trade-union activities from the community unit. The Communist Party program for that period was threefold: It had to do with the trade-union movement, the political, and the community life of the city of Detroit, and that by gathering a bigger base upon which to work, they would have a greater amount of success. You see, the clubs without your factory branches—your neighborhood clubs were small and sometimes were ineffective, whereas with the militant trade unionists you had a drive and a push there that was needed to create a community organization with the community effect.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then by reason of the pushing of members of the industry branches into the midtown section, you were able to meet a great many persons who were members of the Communist Party and scattered over a considerable area?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. In Detroit?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, what was the situation after the receipt of the Duclos letter which brought about the removal of Browder and the abolishment of the Communist Political Association and the reinstitution of the work of the Communist Party as such?

Mr. O'HAIR. I'm telling you, there was a 4-week period where chaos ruled. They didn't know which way to turn. Browderism, communism, the political association under Browder had to come to a stop, and there were no directives from the national office to tell them what to do. It was just in a state of chaos. They were milling around. They didn't know what to do. Half the organization was pro-Browder, a portion of the organization detested Foster, and it took considerable amount of work and education within their own ranks to get it going again.

Mr. TAVENNER. What resulted from that?

Mr. O'HAIR. They dismissed the political association and resumed being the Communist Party of the U. S. A. And with that, they re-instituted their factory branches and went back into the industry here locally, and I imagine in other places too, and started the building of those factory branches again. The emphasis seemed to be on the reconstruction of the old factory branches in industries they had previously been in, and the solicitation or creation of new factory branches.

Mr. WOOD. May I interrupt at that point. Do I understand then that finally directives came down from a higher level as to who they should follow?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is true.

Mr. WOOD. Did those who had previously been following the leadership of Browder withdraw their allegiance and join the other crowd?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Was there any question raised about it?

Mr. O'HAIR. There were a few, but they were rather muted. When the tide began to swing toward Foster, you went along.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you ever know of a branch directive which didn't come from someone higher up?

Mr. O'HAIR. No, sir, I did not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then there was no right of free determination?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is correct, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Among the rank and file of the Communist Party?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. They accepted dictates of higher functionaries in the party?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is correct.

Mr. POTTER. Have you ever known a situation where supporters of Browder, after they had received the line, then became vocal in condemning Browder? Did that exist?

Mr. O'HAIR. I remember Harry Glassgold and I were having a little bite to eat one time and he was impressing me with the fact that he knew Earl Browder, and he was telling me how he was in this restaurant in New York City and this little man came along and walked past him looking like he was carrying all the problems of the world on his shoulders, and Harry said, "I looked up and I said: 'Who is

that?" and my companion said: "That is Earl Browder. He is a wonderful man."

After a passage of time and when the organization had switched over and Browder was no longer with the party, I happened to mention that fact to Harry Glassgold and he said, "No, I didn't say that. I said Browder was never any good."

Mr. TAVENNER. Then after the Duclos letter and the desertion of Browder and the abolishment of the Communist Political Association they went back to the former type of organization of the Communist Party: is that what you mean to say?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is correct, with added intensification of Communist Party organization in the industry. You see, they felt they had lost a lot of ground under Browder: that Browder's political association era was one of collaboration. He believed he would get along with industry. But under Foster, they intensified the branch set-up in the industries realizing that the war was on again.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have an opportunity to learn the approximate number of units or cells of the Communist Party within industry in Detroit?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes, in Detroit, only for the section—the East Side Council, for the eastern portion of Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean by the East Side Council?

Mr. O'HAIR. That was set up after, as I recall, Thomas had lost his presidency of the UAW-CIO and Reuther had taken over. They divided the city of Detroit down the middle—the Communist Party did that—and they set up an East and West Side Council, and these councils were the places where directives from the district office, plus discussion by the delegates—each branch and each community club elected or selected a number of delegates to attend these councils, and from that they would discuss the directive, and then they would take back to their factory branches or to their community clubs the discussion and what had been decided in regards to program, and they would discuss it with their executive membership.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, that is another instance in which directions were taken down from above rather than making decisions in the party cells?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, were you a member of the East Side Council?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes, I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the dividing line between the East and the West Council?

Mr. O'HAIR. I forget now, but I would hazard a guess, if guesses are permissible, and I would say it would probably be Woodward.

Mr. TAVENNER. Woodward Avenue?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many cells or groups of the Communist Party, if you recall, were within the East Side Council of which you were a member?

Mr. O'HAIR. Around 17 or 18, I believe.

Mr. WOOD. You mean that many groups?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Approximately, if you know, what would be the membership on the average of the groups?

Mr. O'HAIR. That would be hard to determine, sir.

Mr. WOOD. How many were in your group?

Mr. O'HAIR. We had around 147 members.

Mr. WOOD. In your group?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes; that were actually active.

Mr. WOOD. Would you say that was above or below average, if you have any knowledge about it at all?

Mr. O'HAIR. I would say it was about average.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, can you give us the names of the groups within the East Side Council of the Communist Party?

Mr. O'HAIR. Well, a factory branch would be the Bohn Aluminum—I will just read them off of here:

Bohn Aluminum Club of the Communist Party, U. S. A.; Nat Turner Club of the Communist Party, U. S. A.; the First Congressional District Club of the Communist Party, U. S. A.; the Oakland Club of the Communist Party, U. S. A.; the 205¹ UAW-CIO—that would be a factory branch; the 155¹ UAW-CIO, factory branch; Plymouth Motors Club of the Communist Party, U. S. A.; Packard Motors Club of the Communist Party, U. S. A.; Chrysler Motors¹ Club of the Communist Party, U. S. A.; Briggs Body Club of the Communist Party, U. S. A.; United States Rubber Club of the Communist Party, U. S. A.; Dodge Car Club of the Communist Party, U. S. A.; and then the Uptown Communist Club of the Communist Party, U. S. A.; Midtown Club of the Communist Party, U. S. A.; the Downtown Club of the Communist Party, U. S. A.; the Fourteenth Congressional District Communist Party Club, U. S. A.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, that represented the groups or cells of the Communist Party within the East Side Council, of which you were a member?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is correct.

Mr. MOULDER. Those are the names?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with the names of the cells or groups within the West Side Council?

Mr. O'HAIR. To a certain extent. I understand that there were four locals over there and—

Mr. WOOD. What do you mean by "locals"?

Mr. O'HAIR. UAW-CIO locals. You see, the basic industry on that side would be the DeSoto plant, Kelsey-Hayes Wheel, the Cadillac Motor Car Co., and I believe Lincoln, and of course, the Ford Motor Car Co., and it would have been a cell or branch in the Ford Motor Co., Cadillac, and the De Soto plant that I know of. Kelsey-Hayes I am not sure of, and neither am I sure of Lincoln.

Mr. TAVENNER. But in referring to the Ford plant, for instance, you are not acquainted with the number of cells or branches that were within that industry?

Mr. O'HAIR. No, that is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you named Timken?

Mr. O'HAIR. Timken Gear & Axle²?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

¹The Communist Party designated their clubs by the same designation used by the UAW for local identification. As used in these volumes, designations such as Local 205 or 155 imply nothing more than that, according to the records of the Communist Party, an active Communist unit was composed of members of the designated local.

²See testimony of Wayne Salisbury and Bereniece "Toby" Baldwin for organization of the Communist Party for the State of Michigan.

Mr. O'HAIR. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, do you know whether there was a cell there or not?

Mr. O'HAIR. No; I do not, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, the names of the members of the East Side Council, but before doing so, let me see if I understand the situation plainly.

There was a representative from each of the 17 or 18 cells within the east side area?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And those 17 or 18 individuals made up the East Side Council?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is correct. Sometimes there would be more than that number. I attended one meeting there where I imagine there were pretty close to 70 in attendance, that being a meeting of the East Side Council, but as I recall, that was the initial meeting. At times some of these delegates would bring friends of theirs from their shops.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you say "friends," what are you referring to? Are you referring to non-Communists or are you referring to Communists?

Mr. O'HAIR. Communists.

Mr. JACKSON. These were closed meetings of the Communist Party?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes, sir. You were notified by a card in the mail.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then at the meetings of the representatives of these groups, you received directives from the district?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. From the district office which was on a higher level?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. And it was the duty of you representatives to take back the Communist Party line to your particular cells?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, will you give us the names of the representatives from these various cells who comprised the membership of the East Side Council?

Mr. POTTER. Before that is done, Mr. Counsel, can you identify them by date as to approximately what date would this identification have taken place?

Mr. O'HAIR. 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. Possibly I should ask you first, if the East Side Council had officers?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. And an organization of its own?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes, sir.

A fellow by the name of Chris Alston was chairman. Paul Brooks was secretary. Jerry Boyd¹ was educational director, and Carmelia Fordham² was press director. These meetings were held downstairs in the basement of Schiller Hall. That is located at the intersection of St. Aubin and Gratiot Avenue.

Mr. TAVENNER. You referred to a person by the name of Carmelia Fordham. Are you certain of the spelling of that name?

¹ Gerald (Jerry) Boyd.

² Carneller Foreman.

Mr. O'HAIR. Do you mean the first name or the last?

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, both. According to the committee's information, the spelling is C-a-r-n-e-l-l-e-r for the first name, and F-o-r-e-m-a-n for the last. Do you know whether or not that is correct and whether that is the person to whom you refer?

Mr. O'HAIR. No, I don't. My impression was it was "Fordham."

Mr. TAVENNER. F-o-r-d-h-a-m?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes, sir.

Now, on April 6, 1947, there was a meeting held at Schiller Hall of the East Side Council, and a few of the people that were present at this meeting were Chris Alston, Paul Brooks, Jerry Boyd, Carmelia Fordham, Helen Allison Winter, Midge——

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment. You referred to Helen Allison Winter?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether she was the wife of Carl Winter?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what was Carl Winter's position in the Communist Party?

Mr. O'HAIR. He was chairman of district 7, State of Michigan, Communist Party, U. S. A.

Midge Asslin——

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you spell the last name?

Mr. O'HAIR. A-s-s-l-i-n; Paul Henley,¹ Ann Kelly, Maurice Cook, Elinor Laffery Cook, Jesse Parrish, Bob Reed——

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell "Reed"?

Mr. O'HAIR. R-e-e-d. Terry Clark—that was all of the people, as I recall at that time that I knew.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, you were a member of the East Side Council?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you were a representative of which club?

Mr. O'HAIR. Of the Midtown Club.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee the names of the officers of the Midtown Club at the time you were its representative to the council?

Mr. O'HAIR. Jesse Parrish was chairman, as I recall. Maurice Cook was organizational secretary. Matilda Maxwell was literature director——

Mr. TAVENNER. Not quite so rapidly.

Mr. O'HAIR. Matilda Maxwell was literature director. Elinor Laffery Cook was membership director. Ann Kelly was political director. Esther Seigel was educational director. James Anderson was codirector of the political action committee with Ann Kelly.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell "Anderson?"

Mr. O'HAIR. A-n-d-e-r-s-o-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hold any position with the Midtown Club at that time besides representing it on the East Side Executive Council?

Mr. O'HAIR. As I recall, I was a member of the educational committee of the Midtown Club at that time.

¹ For testimony of Paul Henley, see Communism in the Detroit Area—Part 2.

Mr. TAVENNER. You told us earlier that you had been, at one time, the press director of the club.

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes. That is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were your duties as press director?

Mr. O'HAIR. To make sure that the Daily Worker was ready for sale at all club meetings of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party, U. S. A., and to organize if and when I could, the sale of the Daily Worker throughout our territory by individuals of the club, members of the club.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee how many of those persons whose names you have given as officers, were active in your club as officers at the time you left Detroit in 1947? Can you tell us that?

Mr. O'HAIR. Possibly with the exception of Esther Seigel, the rest of them were.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you think was the maximum number of members of the Midtown Club while you were a member of it?

Mr. O'HAIR. As I stated before, at one time I believe it ran close to 300—280 or better, and then there was a period in there when it dropped to around 147, and I think it went even lower than that for a while. The lowness—I mean the smallness—the reduction of the general membership wasn't necessitated so much by absenteeism or people who had dropped their membership, as it was due to the result of returning to the factory branches, the former members of our club who had come to us from the factory branches.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of Elinor Laffery Cook. Can you tell us more of her background, her occupational background?

Mr. O'HAIR. No, with the exception that she was a school teacher in the public school system of the city of Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. As you have previously described?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is right. And I believe her mother and father lived in Ann Arbor, Mich.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Counsel, I do not want to unduly burden the witness, yourself, or the members of the committee, or the audience. I believe, at this time, I will declare a recess for 15 minutes.

(A short recess was taken.)

Mr. WOOD. Let there be order in the hearing room, gentlemen.

Are you ready to proceed?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

In the course of your testimony, Mr. O'Hair, you identified the names of the cells or groups of the Communist Party which comprised the group within the east side area of the party. I hand you a paper bearing date April 6, 1947, purporting to be the list of cells which you named. Will you state whether or not you made that record, and, if so, when?

Mr. O'HAIR. That would be April 6, 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that typewritten statement of the names of the cells a statement prepared by you?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire, Mr. Chairman, to offer the list in evidence and ask that it be marked "O'Hair Exhibit No. 2."

Mr. WOOD. It may be introduced.

(The document referred to was marked "O'Hair Exhibit No. 2" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. You also testified, Mr. O'Hair, regarding the persons present at a meeting of the Communist Party—of the East Side Council of the Communist Party—on April 6, 1947. I hand you a typewritten statement bearing date of April 6, 1947, and ask you if that is the list which you gave and whether or not you prepared the list.

Mr. O'HAIR. That is correct. I prepared this list.

Mr. TAVENNER. And when did you prepare it?

Mr. O'HAIR. April 6, 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to have this put in evidence, Mr. Chairman, and request that it be marked "O'Hair Exhibit No. 3."

Mr. WOOD. Without objection, it may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "O'Hair Exhibit No. 3" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. You gave us the name of Ann Kelly as a person who occupied an office in the midtown section of the Communist Party. Can you identify her more definitely as to her occupational background, for instance?

Mr. O'HAIR. No, sir. I never had any knowledge as to whether or not she had to work for a living.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether she was a native-born Detroit?

Mr. O'HAIR. No. My impressions are that she was from the east, New York City, and I am also under the impression that she was a paid functionary of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why did you conclude that she was a paid functionary?

Mr. O'HAIR. From the fact that she was able to support herself without any definite means of support. At no time in my association with Ann Kelly did I ever hear her make reference to any form of employment. It seemed that her time was spent a great deal at the district office and at club meetings, and doing work of an organizational nature for the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether she had any connection with leadership classes in the Communist Party?

Mr. O'HAIR. All that I know in reference to that question is that she approached me, I believe it was at one of the club meetings sometime in March of 1947, and suggested that I enroll in a class on wages, prices, and profits, which was to be held at the Civic Center at 114 Erskine Street. The instructor of this class was to be a Jack White, who, as I recall, was a member of the State Committee of the Communist Party on trade-unionism. I told her that I would be glad to attend, and I was notified when to appear for the first session. The first session of four classes on wages, prices, and profits, was held April 8, 1947, in the reception room of the Civic Center. The classes began at 8 p. m. and ended at 10 p. m.

Altogether there were five members of the Communist Party, U. S. A., present, and they were as follows: Jack White, instructor; Gay Bailey—

Mr. TAVENNER. When you come to names, I suggest you go a little slower, please. It is rather difficult to get.

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes. And a young lady whose first name was Mildred, the last name unknown.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me make another suggestion to you: When you use a name and you are uncertain of the spelling, make a statement that your spelling is the phonetic spelling rather than the actual spelling of the name.

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right, sir. Now, do you know anything about the background of the person you referred to as Bailey?

Mr. O'HAIR. No, sir. I do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. You referred to a person by the name of James Anderson as one of the members of your midtown group. Can you give us further identifying information with regard to him, particularly with regard to his occupational background?

Mr. O'HAIR. James Anderson at the time that I knew him lived at 511 Theodore Street, Detroit, Mich., and he was, to the best of my knowledge, a member of local 600 of the Ford River Rouge plant. At the same time, he was a member of several state committees of the Communist Party, and had been a delegate to the national conventions in 1945 and 1946 of the Communist Party, U. S. A.

During a mayoralty campaign here in Detroit, Mich., he was a salaried worker for the Political Action Committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Political Action Committee of what?

Mr. O'HAIR. Of the UAW-CIO. He was a delegate to the East Side Council of the Communist Party of the State of Michigan, and assisted, according to his own statements, in the organization of Communist Party cells at Bohn Aluminum Corp., Ford Motor Car Co., and the Frigid Foods Corp. He stated that he had been active in Communist Party affairs since 1932, was active in the unionization of the Ford Motor Car Co. in 1936, and was very active in the political intrigues of the Communist Party, district 7, State of Michigan, and in 1944 helped to organize the Thirteenth Congressional Democratic or Political Club, located at the time at 114 Erskine Street, Detroit, Mich.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I think out of fairness to James Anderson, I should state for the benefit of the record at this point that he has appeared in executive session and has admitted his former Communist Party membership and that he had completely broken with the Communist Party since 1947.

You were asked a question, I believe, by one of the members of the committee as to the location of the Communist Party book store, and I believe you gave us the location. Do you recall whether the location was changed at a later date?

Mr. O'HAIR. During my stay in Detroit, I recall it only being at two places that I have previously described.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have exhibited to the staff, Mr. O'Hair, a note book which I see in front of you. What does that note book contain?

Mr. O'HAIR. Well, it contains the names of members of the Communist Party in the organization to which I belonged. It also contains the names of people that I had met at State conventions and—

Mr. TAVENNER. Conventions of what?

Mr. O'HAIR. Well, it would be the State convention of the Communist Party, district 7.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does it also contain the names of persons whom you met at various Communist Party functions?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Other than State conventions?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does the book contain also the names of persons who, in some instances, you observed at Communist Party functions, but who were not known to you definitely to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you prepare that list?

Mr. O'HAIR. I prepared the list from my set of card files that I had back in 1946—1947, rather.

Mr. TAVENNER. But when did you make the entries in the book which you have?

Mr. O'HAIR. The entries in this book?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. O'HAIR. They were made from these cards that, as I would attend a meeting and after I had finished my reports of the meeting, I would go over the reports, and then on the cards, I would note the names of the individuals who had been at these functions, meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. I meant to say, when did you transfer the information from your cards to the book that you have?

Mr. O'HAIR. Just prior to my leaving Detroit in 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. O'Hair, I wish you would refer to the books and give us the names of persons whom you knew to be members of the Communist Party as members of your own club, persons whom you saw at closed Communist Party meetings, and in each instance that you give the committee such identifying facts as would be helpful in a proper identification of the individuals. And let me add this: That in doing this, you give the committee the benefit of your recollection as to any particular activity within the Communist Party that the individual engaged in.

Mr. O'HAIR. Midge Asslin.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the name please and state whether or not it is a phonetic spelling.

Mr. O'HAIR. A-s-s-l-i-n—was a functionary of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party.

James Anderson, functionary and member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party, also of the district.

Gus Anderson, A-n-d-e-r-s-o-n—at one time during his association as a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party, was financial secretary.

Thomas Anderson—A-n-d-e-r-s-o-n—was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party, and at one time held the office of educational director.

Billy Allan—district office of district 7, Communist Party of the State of Michigan. I believe his title at the time that I was here was the Daily Worker representative.

Mr. MOULDER. As Mr. Tavenner said, is there any identification of those names you can give, because many people who have never been a Communist or never attended a Communist meeting might have the same name. Do you know their addresses or any other description you might give of those persons?

Mr. O'HAIR. No.

Mr. MOULDER. Where they were employed or anything else about them?

Mr. O'HAIR. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where you are able to give that information, I wish you would do so.

Was William Allan a person well known in Detroit?

Mr. O'HAIR. I would say in certain circles; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you described what his occupation was?

Mr. O'HAIR. He was known as the Daily Worker representative at the district office of the Communist Party, district 7, State of Michigan.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think that is sufficient.

Mr. JACKSON. What was his name?

Mr. O'HAIR. William Allan.

Mr. JACKSON. And all the rest of the William Allans who were never representatives of the Daily Worker can simply disregard this identification.

Mr. O'HAIR. That is right.

Helen Allison—

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, do you know her married name?

Mr. O'HAIR. Winter, Mrs. Winter, Carl Winter's wife.

Mr. TAVENNER. And Carl Winter, you have told us, was the head—

Mr. O'HAIR. The chairman.

Mr. TAVENNER. The chairman of district 7?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Which meant of the entire State of Michigan?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is right. At the time, I believe she was membership director of district 7 of the State of Michigan.

John Anderson—the times that I encountered John Anderson were at State conventions of the Communist Party, U. S. A. John Anderson was an active trade-unionist, and at these conventions, as I recall, John Anderson would give speeches once in a while.

Chris Alston—A-l-s-t-o-n—he was a member, and I believe chairman of the East Side Council of the Communist Party, district 7, State of Michigan.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask you this with regard to John Anderson: Do you know whether or not he was candidate for Governor on the Communist Party ticket in 1934?

Mr. O'HAIR. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, it is a matter of public record that a John Anderson was a candidate for such an office.

Mr. O'HAIR. Joe Bernstein—B-e-r-n-s-t-e-i-n—he was financial secretary. That is, he was financial secretary of the Communist Party, district 7, State of Michigan. When the membership directors of the local units of the Communist Party collected their membership dues, they would go down to the district office of the Communist Party and turn their funds over to Joe Bernstein, who, in turn, sometimes—well, sometimes he did and sometimes they did—made entries in the ledger.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether his position was that of financial secretary or membership secretary?

Mr. O'HAIR. I would say at the time that I knew him, I believe membership secretary.

Mr. TAVENNER. What would be the distinction between the two? It would seem to be very close.

Mr. O'HAIR. There wouldn't be any, as far as I am aware.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

Mr. O'HAIR. Jerry Boyd—he was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what his true first name was?

Mr. O'HAIR. Gerald. And the last name is spelled B-o-y-d.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you identify him with further information?

Mr. O'HAIR. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where and how he was employed?

Mr. O'HAIR. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right, sir.

Mr. O'HAIR. Ann Beiswenger—B-e-i-s-w-e-n-g-e-r—at one time she was—and when I say “at one time,” she was employed, I believe, by the district office of the Communist Party, district 7, State of Michigan, when said office was located up on Grand River, and at that time she was a member of branch 1, section 5 of the Communist Party. As I recall, she ran for a public office in one of the elections.

Abner Berry¹—B-e-r-r-y—State educational director.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of what?

Mr. O'HAIR. Of the Communist Party, district 7, State of Michigan.

Hugo Bieswenger—

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether this same person, Berry, is now on the staff of the Daily Worker?

Mr. O'HAIR. No; I would have no knowledge of that.

Hugo Beiswenger—B-e-i-s-w-e-n-g-e-r—husband of Ann Beiswenger, attended a meeting of the Midtown Club, and, as I recall, I have seen him at a convention, a State convention of the Communist Party, district No. 7, State of Michigan.

Izzy Berenson—B-e-r-e-n-s-o-n—Izzy was known as the Daily Worker agent. He contacted all the Daily Worker press directors of the various clubs throughout the Detroit area and took their quotas for delivery of the Daily Worker. At the same time, he operated a newsstand, as I recall, at Griswold and Lafayette.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Hugo Beiswenger was a candidate for the National House of Representatives on the Communist Party ticket in November 1940?

Mr. O'HAIR. I would have no recollection of that, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you raise your voice a little bit in answering, please.

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes. I have no recollection of that.

Paul Brooks: Member of the east side council of the Communist Party, district 7, State of Michigan.

Gay Bailey—B-a-i-l-e-y—attended classes with me on the subject of wages, prices, and profits at the Civic Centre.

Mr. MOULDER. Are all of those members of branch 1, section 5?

Mr. O'HAIR. No. Chris Alston wouldn't be. I have designated as I have gone along where they have been members of branch 1, section 5, or the Midtown Club. It is synonymous. I mean they are one and the same organization.

¹ Currently one of the editors of the Daily Worker.

J. Will Cooper—C-o-o-p-e-r—was a member of the Midtown Club, Communist Party.

William Connors—C-o-n-n-o-r-s—was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party.

Maurice Cook was both a functionary and a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party.

Elinor Laffery Cook was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party.

Elizabeth Clark, whose address at the time was 631 East Kirby street, Detroit, Mich., was employed with Frigid Food Corp.

I will have to go back and explain that a little bit there. She was contacted, according to James Anderson and Ann Kelly, because she was a worker at the Frigid Food Corp, and they were supposed to have had a contract with the AFL union. James Anderson and Ann Kelly, according to their statements, were able to persuade her to organize some other of her coworkers in this place and they went out on strike and broke the union, broke the contract that the AFL had and established instead—I believe it was the United—it was the CIO union that had to do with—

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it the UOPW?

Mr. O'HAIR. No. It had to do with food processing.

Mr. TAVENNER. Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is correct; yes. After which they had Elizabeth Clark down to a meeting, a general membership meeting of the Midtown Club—

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment. The Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers Union has been expelled from the CIO, has it not, as a Communist dominated organization?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes, but you must remember that this information contained here is 5 years old.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. O'HAIR. And at that time, it had not as yet been expelled.

She was an invited guest to a closed membership meeting of the Midtown Communist Party Club. At that time, it was explained to us members that she was now a member of the Communist Party, and not only that, had succeed in recruiting six or seven additional people who were her coworkers at the Frigid Foods Corp.

Sis Cunningham—C-u-n-n-i-n-g-h-a-m—she not only was an employee of the district office, district 7, Communist Party of the State of Michigan, but was also a member of the Midtown Communist Club.

Mr. and Mrs. Dillard—D-i-l-l-a-r-d—were members of the Midtown Communist Club.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know the first name of either of them?

Mr. O'HAIR. No, sir. Their membership cards—by that I mean the club cards on them—only contained "Mr. and Mrs. Dillard." They came as a twosome to the meetings when they did attend, and there was no great stress, you understand, inside of the party organization on names. It was a little out of order to push anybody for any more of a name than they cared to give.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you learn their addresses?

Mr. O'HAIR. Whatever addresses that I have had on these people before now has been turned over to the Bureau—the FBI rather.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you know anything of their employment?

Mr. O'HAIR. No, sir. You understand that in party meetings, while there is a certain amount of fraternization, only unless you know an individual real well and amount to almost a personal situation between you and the subject, you just don't crowd them for further information.

Mr. JACKSON. Of course. I think the object of this interrogation and the length of it on this particular point, is to fasten down as definitely as possible these identifications so that unwilling and probably anti-Communist Dillards will not become involved.

Mr. O'HAIR. That is right. I appreciate that.

Walter Dunn—

Mr. TAVENNER. I might say, Mr. Chairman, that the person just identified has been subpoenaed as a witness and will testify, and has cooperated fully with the committee.

Mr. O'HAIR. Ann Delancey, D-e-l-a-n-c-e-y: Was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party, and I believe at the time I knew her, she resided at the Priscilla Home. That would be either up on Cass or Second Street.

Tom Dombrowski—D-o-m-b-r-o-w-s-k-i—Tom Dombrowski I met several times at State conventions of district 7 of the Communist Party, State of Michigan, and also had seen him upon several occasions at the district office of district No. 7, Communist Party, State of Michigan.

Alice Ferris—F-e-r-r-i-s—

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment. The person identified there, Mr. Dombrowski, has been cited in a report of the committee as the editor of Glos Ludowy.

Mr. O'HAIR. Alice Ferris ran the Communist Party book store, both when it was across the street from 2419 Grand River, and later on when it was transferred and moved down to the ninth floor of the Lawyers' Building. At one time she was also a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party, U. S. A.

Timothy Shay: He was a member, too, of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party, whose membership in the Communist Party went back over a period of 25 years. He came into the Communist Party from the IWW, the International Workers of the World, and he related to me at one time that Alice Ferris acted as a mail drop for district 7 of the Communist Party, State of Michigan, and also that she had made several trips to New York City, N. Y., as a courier. Incidentally, Tim Shay sometimes used the name of Potter—P-o-t-t-e-r—and his address at the time was apartment No. 23, Earle Apartments on Cass Street.

Mr. POTTER. If the counsel will yield. I assume he used the name of "Tim" Potter?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is correct. As far as I can remember, he was convalescing and he had no employment that I knew of. He was being treated for a heart condition and was under a doctor's care. Also, according to statements made to me by Tim Shay, his relationship toward the end of my stay here in Detroit, with the Communist Party became a little strained. It seemed that an argument developed between Tim Shay and several members, functionaries of district 7 of the Communist Party, U. S. A., State of Michigan. Shay contended that the Jewish people were taking over the top-level jobs in the national and State organizations, and at a local level, too. He felt that

the Jewish people were attempting to use the Communist Party as a political party for their own interests, and he had gone to the district and had quite an argument with Helen Allison. She threatened to have him cited for anti-Semitism and expelled from the party.

Of course, Shay backed down and from then on, he was dissatisfied, and there was quite an amount of rumbling.

Milton Freeman, F-r-e-e-m-a-n, was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party, and his address at that time was 534 Illinois Street, Detroit, Mich.

Milton Freeman, F-r-e-e-m-a-n, was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party, was the husband of Sis Cunningham, and during his stay here in Detroit was employed by the Detroit Times as a reporter.

Carmelia Fordham was press director of the East Side Council of district 7, Communist Party, State of Michigan.

Harry Glassgold was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party, district 7, and also—

Mr. TAVENNER. You have already identified him as the person who recruited you into the party?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is correct. Is there any need to give you any more information?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir, unless you have in mind some particular activity of his which would throw some light on the methods by which the Communist Party operated in this area.

Mr. O'HAIR. The only additional item that I can add to that was his organizational work in the colored neighborhoods of Detroit. He seemed quite concerned in promoting front organizations in the colored neighborhoods of Detroit, and I am very happy to say that in most cases they were not successful.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you referring to political activities, or activities of a purely front character?

Mr. O'HAIR. Social in nature. They were the front organizations.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think the committee would be interested in hearing more in detail about that, if you recall, Mr. O'HAIR.

Mr. O'HAIR. I have forgotten now, the names of the organizations. There were two in number, I do believe. It would be futile to attempt to take up the committee's time to go back, except that he was also a part-time student at Wayne University, where he attempted to create a student organization. I believe he was active in the AYD—that would be the American Youth for Democracy—when it was on the campus there.

Henderson Gates, G-a-t-e-s—he was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party.

Dewey Garrett, I believe I mentioned him previously.

Betty Gannett, G-a-n-n-e-t-t, came out here from New York City and gave the executive committees of the various local Communist organizations pep talks on organizational procedure; in other words, recruiting and building up the organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. Wasn't she known as a top functionary in the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. And is now under indictment in California?

Mr. O'HAIR. I wouldn't know about that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Under the Smith Act.

You may proceed.

MR. O'HAIR. Flo Goodman and her husband, Calvin Goodman—they were members of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party of State of Michigan.

Willie Gale, G-a-l-e, was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party of the State of Michigan, and his home address was 4662 Brush Street.

Edna Glassgold, I believe I mentioned previously.

John Issaces, I mentioned previously.

Betty Ireland, I-r-e-l-a-n-d—I believe she was employed as a stenographer, and she too was a member of the Midtown Club, district 7, Communist Party, State of Michigan.

MR. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with her husband, Max Ireland?

MR. O'HAIR. No, sir. Frank Iglesias, I mentioned previously.

Jean Johnson was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party, district 7.

Mrs. Hattie Johnson, was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party.

James Keller, was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party. I believe now that James Keller is out in Chicago and he is organizational secretary for a district of the Communist Party out there.

Leroy Krawford, was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party.

Ann Kelly has been mentioned previously.

Katie Lee worked for the district office of district 7 of the Communist Party of the State of Michigan, and was a paid employee.

John Lymber, was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party, district 7, State of Michigan.

Bill Lifsee, was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party of the State of Michigan.

Katherine Lynch, was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party of the State of Michigan, and was later transferred to a professional group. At the time that she was a member of the Midtown Club, I believe she was an employee of the Free Press.

Felix Miller, operated I believe—he was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party of the State of Michigan.

Matilda Maxwell, was mentioned previously.

Dr. J. Masee, 5205 Hastings Street, Detroit, was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party, district 7.

Dave Miller, was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party, State of Michigan.

Mabel Mitchell, has been mentioned previously.

Arthur McPhaul, was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party.

MR. TAVENNER. Can you give us any further information about his activities in the party?

MR. O'HAIR. No, other than the fact, I believe, that he was employed at the Ford local and that I think he was probably a member of the trade-union committee for a while there, of the Midtown Club.

Sam McGhee, 3491 St. Antoine Street, Detroit, was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party.

George Newsome, was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party.

Willie Newman, 683 East Warren Avenue, Detroit, was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party.

Jessie Parrish, 252 East Palmer Street, previously mentioned, was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party.

Louis Perry, 4262 Brush Street—

Mr. TAVENNER. How is Louis spelled?

Mr. O'HAIR. L-o-u-i-s, was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party.

Mary Reed or Page, has been mentioned previously.

Reva Redstone, has been mentioned previously.

Irving Riskin and his wife "Skippy" Riskin, at the time of my Communist Party membership here in Detroit. Irving Riskin, I believe, was business agent for the United Office and Professional Office Workers Union here locally. I believe he had offices down here on Griswold Street. I assume he was a member of the Communist Party, district 7.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of any other positions or employment that he had?

Mr. O'HAIR. No. I understand he came here from Washington, D. C., where he had been actively engaged in promoting the United Office and Professional Workers Union amongst the Federal employees. Apparently it had not worked out, because I understand there was some kind of cloud or something and he had come here to let it settle down.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell his first name?

Mr. O'HAIR. I-r-v-i-n-g.

William A. Rodgers, 4102 Brush Street, was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party.

William A. Record, 4726 St. Antoine Street, was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party.

I have mentioned "Bob" Reed prior to this, but he was also circulation manager of the Michigan Herald.

Jack Sanberg and his wife, Helen Sanberg, were members of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party.

Mills Sampy, was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party.

Dave Silverberg, was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party.

Louis Sciverras, was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party.

Esther Seigel, 1997 Elmhurst, was previously mentioned.

James Simmons,¹ was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party, State of Michigan.

Barbara Springer, was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party. Her husband, as I understand it, at the time was an employee of the Post Office Department.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you know that to be so, or do you understand it?

Mr. O'HAIR. I know it to be so.

¹ See testimony of James Simmons, Communism in the Detroit Area—Part 2.

Barbara and Arthur Stern, sometimes known as Yeager, were members of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party.

Matt Savola attended two state conventions of the Communist Party, district 7, State of Michigan, at the same time that I attended. He is from Iron River, Mich.

Mr. WOOD. How do you spell that?

Mr. O'HAIR. S-a-v-o-l-a.

Mr. MOULDER. When you referred to the "Post Office Department," do you mean the local office here?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is right: the one right downstairs.

At the time I had his [Savola's] title, he was the educational committee or was on the educational committee of the Unity Cooperative Co. The address is Eben Junction, Iron Rock, Mich. He was, I understand, a representative of the Iron Mill and Smelter Workers Union.

Mr. POTTER. What is the name of the city in Michigan?

Mr. O'HAIR. It would be Iron Rock. Eben Junction, Iron Rock, Mich.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of his membership in the Iron Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union. Do you know whether that union has been expelled from the CIO on the ground of subservience to the Communist Party?

Mr. O'HAIR. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean you do not know? You are not answering whether it has happened or not?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is right. I just don't know and never paid any attention.

Mr. MOULDER. What was the name of the woman whose husband was employed here in the local post office?

Mr. O'HAIR. Barbara Springer.

Mr. MOULDER. Did she attend the Communist meetings? Did you see her?

Mr. O'HAIR. Oh, yes. I was captain of the bond drive. It was very popular during the last war, especially under the United Front, for members of the Communist Party to buy war bonds. I sold her somewhere in the neighborhood of \$750 worth of bonds, as I recall it.

Mr. MOULDER. What was the date when she was an active member of the Communist Party?

Mr. O'HAIR. That would have been in 1944, 1945, and the last I recall, the early part of 1946.

Mr. MOULDER. What was her husband's name?

Mr. O'HAIR. As far as I know, the last name would have been Springer.

Mr. MOULDER. You do not know his first name?

Mr. O'HAIR. She referred to him as being an employee of the post office.

Mr. MOULDER. She did so refer to him?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is right.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you ever see him so employed and know yourself that he was so employed?

Mr. O'HAIR. My contact with the Bureau said that he was employed there.

Mr. MOULDER. You, yourself, do not know?

Mr. O'HAIR. Oh, no. Edward Turner, was a member of the Uptown Club of the Communist Party.

Mr. MOULDER. Did he attend Communist meetings with her, this fellow Springer, at any time?

Mr. O'HAIR. As I recall, he attended one and that was in her company.

Dave McKelvey White—when I first became a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party, branch 1, section 5. McKelvey White was State educational director of district 7 of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. My information is that that individual is deceased.

Mr. O'HAIR. Ruth Webb, was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party.

Carl Winter, attended the general membership meetings of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party. He was chairman of district 7 of the Communist Party of the State of Michigan.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know any reason why he was assigned to that particular club of the party, when he was head of the entire organization of the Communist Party within the State of Michigan?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes. All functionaries, unless otherwise decreed, have to belong to a local unit. They have to have a home club.

Mattie Lee Woodson was a member of the Communist Party and I believe she was an employee of the District office, when it was down here at the ninth floor of the Lawyers' Building.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether that individual's name is now Hawkins?

Mr. O'HAIR. I would have no knowledge of that.

Ruth Yanover and her husband, Jules Yanover, came to our club from Milwaukee, Wis. That is all.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. O'Hair, in the course of your experience in the Communist Party, are you prepared to state or can you state what the chief activities of the party were in the Detroit area, during the time that you were a member?

Mr. O'HAIR. Certainly. It was domination of the trade-union movement.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you place that as the principal objective of the Communist Party?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes; because you see, with complete domination of the trade-union movement, they have a political organization. Not only that, the treasuries of these various unions assist them a great deal. They can be raided and funds diverted. I feel that they're adhering strictly to the principles of Marxist-Leninist theory when they infiltrate and attempt to take over the trade-unions, because it is the largest single mass unit they can get a hold of.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understand you are not in a position to state how many branches or cells of the Communist Party were organized within the trade-union field.

Mr. O'HAIR. No, sir; I am not.

Mr. TAVENNER. In Detroit?

Mr. O'HAIR. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where you have known and identified members of the Communist Party who were in the trade-union field, you have so designated them; have you not?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes, I believe so.

Mr. TAVENNER. In addition to the work and activities of the Communist Party in the trade-union field, what other main activities did the Communist Party engage in, in this area, if you know?

Mr. O'HAIR. Political action was one. They created a political organization over in the Thirteenth Congressional District. As I understand it, they approached a Mr. Charles Diggs, who was a State senator or former State senator, and had a small political organization. They inquired of Mr. Diggs whether or not he would care to have organizational backing and support for a coming campaign. Apparently he agreed and he went along with them to the extent of calling a meeting.

Naturally, they had to bring in some outsiders and they made an enlarged meeting of it. They met that time several times and then at one of the meetings, toward the end, they decided on a resolution. After they got the resolution, they got a hold of the floor, they had a slate prepared and they voted Mr. Diggs right out of his own organization. They took that over and set it up and it was known then as the Thirteenth Congressional Democratic Club. Its primary interest was to the Communist Party, and it was of primary interest to the Mid-town Club of the Communist Party.

You see, people get an idea that maybe that was a small club. That took in an area from the river and Second, clear on up to the city limits, over to Mack or Chene street—a terrific population.

Anyway, to get back to it, they then selected a candidate, now that they had a political organization, and this candidate's name was Dan Ryan.

Mr. TAVENNER. There are several persons by the name of Dan Ryan. Will you see if you can identify this particular Dan Ryan a little more definitely?

Mr. O'HAIR. This Dan Ryan is no way related to Dan Ryan of the city of Detroit Welfare Department. This Dan Ryan came to the city of Detroit from some place in Indiana, a little prior to 1944, and my understanding of the matter is that he taught in the Workers' School around here for some time, and then proceeded to go to work, either at Chrysler or Dodge local, where eventually he became a shop steward.

Something happened there because he became a used car salesman after that and went without much of a permanent address. Anyway, to make a long story short, he was selected as the candidate.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you be a little more definite as to the candidacy? Candidate for what?

Mr. O'HAIR. State senator.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where and when?

Mr. O'HAIR. State senator for the Thirteenth Congressional District, and I believe that would be about 1944—in there.

Mr. TAVENNER. On what ticket?

Mr. O'HAIR. I imagine the Democratic Party.

Mr. JACKSON. He did not run as a Communist?

Mr. O'HAIR. No.

Mr. JACKSON. Did he run as a Republican?

Mr. O'HAIR. No; Democratic, I am sure. I recall James Anderson and Walter Dunn telling about the time that they had to make the speeches for Mr. Ryan, while two other comrades had Mr. Ryan in

tow, walking him around the block to sober him up, in time to bring him back for a curtain call. Anderson complained that he made so many speeches that he felt he should elected.

Needless to say, Ryan was elected. I don't know whether he ever finished his term in office or not. I understand he did not. He gave it up.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what the real motivating purpose of the Communist Party was in capturing this political organization, which it seems Mr. Charles C. Diggs had built up, and then to use it to promote the political interests of Mr. Ryan? What was back of it all? What was the Communist Party seeking to do, if you know?

First, do you know whether Mr. Ryan was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. O'HAIR. No; I have no knowledge as to that, but I imagine they were attempting to work out a process whereby they could develop a political organization—as I said, at that time they were very desirous of winning friends among the colored people of the city of Detroit, and a good share of their organizational activity was spent in trying to win these people.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was this political organization which had been built up by Charles C. Diggs chiefly among the colored people?

Mr. O'HAIR. I would say so; yes. The purpose, as I continued to say, was possibly to attempt a blocking up of the—the creating of a large political organization among the colored people for the support of a future campaign that was coming. I believe that was when either Fitzgerald or Frankenstein ran for the office of mayor, here in the city of Detroit, because I know that the party went out—the Communist Party went out of its way to tell the colored people that capitalism was to blame for whatever predicament some of them found themselves in, and that under socialism, there would be building projects and community dwelling and things of that nature, and that that area would be cleaned up.

However, at the polls, the vast majority of the good people of that section were not deceived in any way whatsoever and retained their American individuality and repudiated the Communist Party efforts to create a political machine in that area, by voting the incumbent back into office, as I recall.

Mr. POTTER. During what period of time did this take place?

Mr. O'HAIR. This would take place 1944 to 1946.

Mr. POTTER. I assume the Democratic Club is a different organization than the Democratic Committee?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes. It changed its name shortly after the Dan Ryan fiasco and was then known as the Thirteenth Congressional Political Club.

Mr. JACKSON. He was elected?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes; but not through any effort of Dan Ryan.

Mr. JACKSON. What I mean is that the ultimate objective had been served.

Mr. O'HAIR. That is right.

Mr. JACKSON. By taking over.

Mr. O'HAIR. That is right.

Mr. JACKSON. I assume that Mr. Ryan could never, in a thousand years, be elected as a Communist candidate?

Mr. O'HAIR. No, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. It was only possible by taking over an existing organization and using that for the purpose of electing Mr. Ryan?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is right.

Mr. JACKSON. Which is a typical operational tactic of the party?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is right; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you advise the committee as to just what the general purpose was in the Communist Party, in endeavoring to acquire political organizations or build up political organizations?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes, I think I can. I comes back to me now.

We had a Senator here from this State by the name of Vandenberg and the Communist Party was breaking every bone in that organizational body to upset Mr. Vandenberg, and they did not do it.

As I say, a lot of it is hazy now because of the passage of time and the fact that I have not kept up on things, but I do recall that part of the effort was not only to make a political monopoly out of the trade-union movement here in the State of Michigan, but also to create these community activities in the form of these political associations, these political clubs, and that was to beat the bricks for a candidate that they had to put to run against Mr. Vandenberg.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have stated a moment ago that the Communists were not successful, in your judgment, in deceiving the rank and file of the Negro voters. Have you any evidence or any incident upon which you base that statement?

Mr. O'HAIR. Well, knowing how hard they worked in this one campaign, this one mayoralty campaign, and the fact that the favorite candidate lost by some margin and their statements of disappointment at the relatively small number of Negro votes for their candidate—

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. O'Hair, you have mentioned several times during the course of your testimony that individuals were active in the PAC of the Communist Party as distinguished from the PAC of the CIO.

Mr. O'HAIR. They paralleled the PAC-UAW. They had a PAC of their own and the purposes, as near as I know it, was to—after all, I mean they had their factory branches, they had their front organizations, and it gave it a sense of being an implement. The fact that—as for example, maybe I can best explain it this way:

During one of these campaigns in Detroit, Walter Dunn had a secretary's job at the PAC-UAW and they had set up for him a fellow by the name of Tom Anderson, who was to act as courier between Walter Dunn of the PAC, the secretary, to the delegate of the PAC and the district No. 7, Communist Party office. At the same time, Dunn was making contacts with the Thirteenth Congressional District Political or Democratic Club.

James Anderson, in turn, would discuss the issues with Dunn and come back over to the Midtown Club and give us the dope. In other words, to build up the issue and then we would go out in the neighborhood and work it out. We were forming a grass roots organization, a militant grass roots organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, can we have a 2 or 3 minute intermission?

Mr. WOOD. I take it we will adjourn at 5.

Mr. TAVENNER. May we finish with the witness?

Mr. WOOD. We will take a recess for 10 minutes.

(A short recess was taken.)

Mr. Wood. Let us have order, please.

Counsel, are you ready to proceed?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. O'Hair, in referring to the building up of the political organization by the Communist Party, I believe you called it the Thirteenth Congressional District.

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mentioned the fact that the name of it was changed later. What was the name to which it was changed?

Mr. O'HAIR. It was changed from the Thirteenth Congressional Democratic Club to the Thirteenth Congressional Political Club.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the reason for that; do you know?

Mr. O'HAIR. They were not actually a Democratic club. They merely adopted that label to give them local color and the idea of a legitimate political organization.

What I mean to say is to create in the minds of the people in that area, that they were a legitimate political organization. After that, I think, as I recall discussions on the matter, they would have liked to have built up a political organization such as Marcantonio had in New York City, where they could form a coalition with any one group to elect an individual. Naturally, I mean, they wouldn't need then to associate or to assume that they were representing any political party.

Mr. POTTER. May I ask a question along that line? Did the members of the Communist Party act as a fraction within this organization, or did it become or was it a large group and they acted as individual members?

Mr. O'HAIR. No; they acted as a fraction within this organization, and at the same time, I mean, let's put it this way: As a steering committee would operate and where they needed impetuous support organizationally and parliamentarily speaking, to cross certain issues, then they would pack the floor and control it that way.

Mr. POTTER. I assume from that, that the strategy was laid out prior to the meeting by the members of the Communist Party, and working in unison, they were able to, or at least they endeavored to, swing the mass organization to carry out their recommendations and their programs; is that true?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is true. That was the purpose of Walter Dunn and James Anderson. Anderson, in turn, was, as I described before, the one that would come to the executive committee meeting of our Midtown Club of the Communist Party, and we would discuss it, the issue or whatever program was desired, and then we would work out the details so that the Thirteenth Congressional Democratic Club could endorse it or bring it to pass.

Mr. POTTER. I was interested also in your statement that the members of the Communist Party were very anxious to defeat our former Senator Vandenberg. What were the reasons that they gave for wanting his defeat?

Mr. O'HAIR. I think it was fairly obvious. As I recall, Senator Vandenberg opposed certain measures regarding Russia. For a while, of course—I am going back now surmising—Senator Vandenberg represented to the Communist Party an individual who had a pretty astute understanding of the international situation. They felt that Senator Vandenberg was a detriment, that he was a light in the

wilderness, and if they could put that light out they would be better off.

Mr. POTTER. They felt that Senator Vandenberg's presence meant that they would not be able to appease the Soviet Union?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. MOULDER. Inquiring further along the line that Mr. Potter asked: You stated a moment ago when you referred to the Thirteenth Congressional Democratic Club, you referred to a false name assumed by the Communists, is that correct, in that district?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is right.

Mr. MOULDER. Briefly, I want to ask more about yourself. Where do you reside now?

Mr. O'HAIR. Johnson City, N. Y.

Mr. MOULDER. What is your employment there?

Mr. O'HAIR. I am a licensed private investigator of the State of New York.

Mr. MOULDER. Are you married?

Mr. O'HAIR. No, sir; I am a bachelor.

Mr. MOULDER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. O'Hair, membership being an important matter for discussion in every organization, what was your best understanding of the total membership of the Communist Party in the Detroit area?

Mr. O'HAIR. Approximately 1,500 members.

Mr. JACKSON. Approximately 1,500 members, active members?

Mr. O'HAIR. They figured 1,000 or a little better for Detroit proper, and 400 or so for the outlying parts of Wayne County.

Mr. JACKSON. I think that you said there were 17 branches.

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. In the eastern council?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is right.

Mr. JACKSON. And you gave as an average, using your own branch as an example, 175 members and you said that was more or less characteristic, you believed?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. That would place the total somewhat above the figure of 1,700, would it not, for the entire Detroit area?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes, according to that way; yes, it would.

Mr. JACKSON. That would give a figure in the eastern council itself, of well in excess of that amount, without taking into consideration the other branches of which you have no knowledge?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is right. But as I said at that time, I was merely surmising that our membership ran around 175. It was merely a supposition and I believe it was so understood at that time; that it was a supposition regarding the membership of the other branches and clubs.

Mr. JACKSON. Yes; my question was predicated on that assumption. Was Detroit generally considered in the branch meetings and in the discussions with relation to industry in general, as being a very important focal point?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. That is, for Communist activity in the United States?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. JACKSON. During the meetings of your branch, was the flag of the United States ever displayed?

Mr. O'HAIR. No, sir. At one meeting that I recall, it was displayed and that was when Tim Buck came over from Canada to a celebration that was prepared here for him by the Communist Party of district No. 7 of the State of Michigan. That was held at St. Andrew's Hall, I believe, in downtown Detroit. There, they displayed the American flag and Russian flag and Canadian flag.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you remember in what precedence the flags were displayed?

Mr. O'HAIR. No, only the fact of welcoming Tim Buck to this country for his appearance here.

Mr. JACKSON. Your testimony in connection with the press and Daily Worker committee was not in any sense an activity in which you had contact with the press as such?

Mr. O'HAIR. Oh, no. No, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. It simply had to do with the distribution and circulation of the Daily Worker?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is correct.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you have any idea as to the over-all circulation of the Daily Worker in Detroit at that time?

Mr. O'HAIR. No. As I recall, I think it was 1946, and I am hazarding a guess on the year, we were informed by the district office that if we were able to raise a certain number of thousands of dollars, that we could set up our own newspaper here. We raised the money in the given length of time. I think it was well in excess of \$10,000 or so that we had to have as a guaranty before they would grant us permission to publish our own paper. That paper is now known as the Michigan Herald, and is better known yet as the Michigan Daily Worker.

It was authorized by the national organization of the Communist Party. It wasn't something that the local boys set up without approval, and it is, as I said before, miraculous how the finances were raised.

Mr. JACKSON. During the course of hearings in Washington into the nature and extent of communism and Communist infiltration into the Bethlehem Steel Corp. at Sparrows Point, it was disclosed in the testimony that individuals in the Washington area, which I believe is district 4, were instructed to leave their employment in Washington and seek to obtain employment in the Bethlehem Steel plant.

Do you have any knowledge of any such directive issued to an individual to seek employment in a specific place?

Mr. O'HAIR. Twice I was requested—once by Arthur Yeager or Stern—to take a job with Timken Gear & Axle down here at the west end of Detroit, and once or twice after that by Harry Glassgold, to accept a position that could be procured for me in a Detroit industry. I asked Harry Glassgold, I said, "Harry, what's the purpose? I'm happy where I am." "Well," he said, "you're not enough service to the party where you are."

Then he got real confidential and said, "Of course, you know if you take this assignment," he said, "then you can keep me posted on what goes on." I merely quote that to show that there is an ulterior motive and they can direct individuals to certain employment, where they can do it, or to certain types of employment to accomplish whatever objective they have in mind; they will do it.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you recall, during the period of time you were a member of the East Side council or representing your branch in the East Side council, the nature of any directives which you took back? You said that these delegates or representatives met together in the East Side council and were given directives to take back to their own branches.

Mr. O'HAIR. No. The directives would come down from the district. We would discuss, at these East Side council meetings, we would discuss these issues and directives, and then what we would return to our local unit with was for our participation as a local unit in whatever the over-all strategy was.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you have any knowledge during your period of membership in the Communist Party of the existence in Detroit of a legal branch?

Mr. O'HAIR. There was in existence a professional group of the Communist Party. As I mentioned previously, Katherine Lynch, who had been a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party, was transferred out into a professional branch. There were several local lawyers who, at the time, were named to me by Glassgold and by Stern and several other people as being very friendly to the Communist Party. They mentioned their names, but in the passage of time it has grown dim.

Mr. JACKSON. The occupation of the individual you named as having been transferred out, was that of a lawyer?

Mr. O'HAIR. This particular case was a newspaper employee, employed by the Detroit Free Press as a reporter, as I recall.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you hear any conversation, at any time, with respect to the existence of a newspaper branch?

Mr. O'HAIR. No.

Mr. JACKSON. A teaching branch?

Mr. O'HAIR. No. That might have come later. The fact that Elinor Laffery Cook was a member in and a functionary of a neighborhood organization, would indicate to me that at that time there was no such branch as a teachers' branch.

However, as I say, 5 years have gone by. It is just possible, and between you and me, it sounds very plausible, understanding them as I do.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions.

I would like to suggest that Mr. O'Hair's subpoena be extended to cover his arrival in his own home.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter, do you have any questions?

Mr. POTTER. One or two, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. O'Hair, as a former member of the Communist Party, what is the feeling of the members of the Communist Party about being exposed as Communists?

Mr. O'HAIR. They hate it. I believe they fear that more than anything else, whether it is factual exposure or definite exposure.

Mr. POTTER. From the experience that you have had, would the attacks and the hysteria that have been brought upon the committee and other people interested in exposing Communists by certain groups—would that indicate to you that there was a great deal of fright in their hearts?

Mr. O'HAIR. It would indicate to me that you can judge the degree which you are worrying them, by the yelling that they put up.

Mr. POTTER. Mr. O'Hair, I have here a photostat of a manual entitled, "The Communist Party Manual on Organization." Have you seen such a manual before?

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes, I have.

Mr. POTTER. Can you briefly tell the committee how the Communist Party, how the members of the Communist Party, are instructed to use this manual?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is a manual of organization. That tends to illustrate to them their behavior in their private lives and it also sets forth the behavior they should follow in their relations to the Communist Party. It also sets forth statements in there, as I recall, regarding organizational punishment for anybody who would furnish information, even to the point of telling their good comrades' children to stand around in front of the house of a suspected informant and shout "Spy." It also goes on to make no bones about the fact that the Communist Party is predicated to overthrow the Government by force and violence. It makes no bones about it. It is clearly presented in that book that the Communist Party advocates the overthrow of the existing Government of the United States by force and violence.

The whole book, in my opinion, seems to be dedicated toward that purpose.

Mr. POTTER. Is it then true that the members of the Communist Party use this as their manual, such as a Boy Scout uses his Boy Scout handbook? Is it that type of manual?

Mr. O'HAIR. That is true.

Mr. POTTER. I wish to read a paragraph from this manual on the role and aim of the Communist Party, to see if, from your experience, that role and aim was carried out by the party, and if that was one of their objectives. I quote:

As a leader and organizer of the proletariat, the Communist Party of the United States of America leads the working class in the fight for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of a Socialist soviet republic in the United States, for the complete abolition of classes, for the establishment of socialism, the first stage of the classless Communist society.

Is that the aim and role of the Communist Party that they have enunciated here? Is that a true objective of the Communists as you have experienced it?

Mr. O'HAIR. I think there was only one time in their career as an organization that they have backed away from that, and that was under Earl Browder's revisionist period which lasted a couple of months.

Mr. POTTER. There has also been a great deal of discussion about the freedom that the members have in the Communist Party. They use that as a means in their propaganda.

I note in this little manual a paragraph that pertains to party discussion and freedom to criticize. I would like to read just one paragraph, and I quote:

It is clear, however, that basic principles and decisions, such as for example, the program of the Communist International cannot be questioned in the party. We cannot imagine a discussion for example, questioning the correctness of the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution or the necessity for the proletariat dictatorship. We do not question the theory of the necessity for the forceful overthrow of capitalism. We do not question the correctness of the

revolutionary theory of the class struggle laid down by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. We do not question the counterrevolutionary nature of Trotskyism.

It seems to me that you are pretty limited in the Communist Party as to what you may discuss.

Mr. O'HAIR. That is true. It is all cut and dried. As I probably didn't make myself too clear, the purpose of the executive committee is to meet and to outline the discussion program pertaining to any issue, and they control it. It is strictly from the Chair. If anybody gets too far one side, they rap him out of order. There is very little democracy in the Communist Party.

Mr. POTTER. I wish to thank you, Mr. O'Hair, for testifying here.

Mr. WOOD. Are there any further questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; you have mentioned John Anderson. There may be a number of John Andersons in the city of Detroit. I want to be certain you have given us all the identifying information relating to him that you can.

Mr. O'HAIR. He was a trade-unionist here locally, I believe in the UAW.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he was employed in Plymouth?

Mr. O'HAIR. All I can say to that is, it is possible. I recall seeing him one time when Pat Toohey was there. I was attending a workers' school held at 2419 Grand River, and I was coming between classes down the hallway, when Pat Toohey, John Anderson, and I believe, Nat Ganley went by and a fellow by the name of William or Walter McKie passed me on their way into another room.

As I recall, I turned to a fellow walking with me and I said, "What kind of delegation is that?" And without thinking, he said, "That's the trade-union committee."

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he white?

Mr. O'HAIR. He was white. He is of Scotch descent, as I recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the statement you have just made, you have referred to several other persons whose names have not been mentioned here.

Mr. O'HAIR. Yes. Walter McKie was associated with Ford local.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is he known to you to be a member of the Communist Party or not?

Mr. O'HAIR. I wouldn't say that. I have just seen him associating.

Mr. TAVENNER. You referred to Pat Toohey.

Mr. O'HAIR. Pat Toohey was the man that Carl Winter replaced here as chairman of District No. 7 of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all I have. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. I am going to ask Mr. O'Hair to remain within call of the committee tomorrow and you will continue to be under subpoena of the committee until you reach home. I would appreciate it if you would be available here, in case we want to recall you for further questions.

The hour is now 20 minutes past 5 and we will suspend until 10 a. m., tomorrow morning. The committee stands recessed.

(Whereupon, at 5:20 p. m., the committee recessed to reconvene at 10 a. m., Tuesday, February 26, 1952.)

COMMUNISM IN THE DETROIT AREA—PART 1

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1952

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Detroit, Mich.

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met pursuant to call at 10 a. m. in room 740, Federal Building, in Detroit, Mich., Hon. John S. Wood (chairman), presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood, Morgan M. Moulder, Donald L. Jackson, and Charles E. Potter.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., assistant counsel; Donald T. Appell and Jackson Jones, investigators; and John W. Carrington, clerk.

Mr. WOOD. Let the committee be in order. Counsel are you ready to plead?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir. I would like to call Mr. Joseph Bernstein.

Mr. WOOD. Let the record show that of the subcommittee there are present Messrs. Moulder, Jackson, Potter, and Wood.

Are you Mr. Bernstein?

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH BERNSTEIN, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, BERNARD PROBE

Mr. BERNSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Will you please stand and be sworn?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Are you represented by counsel, Mr. Bernstein?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. PROBE. My name is Bernard Probe.

Mr. WOOD. What is your business address?

Mr. PROBE. National Bank Building, Detroit.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Bernstein, at any time during the course of your testimony if you desire to do so, you are at liberty to confer with your counsel. Counsel has the privilege of giving you such advice and information as he sees fit to give you from time to time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name please, sir?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. Mr. Tavenner, before I make any answers to the questions, I have a statement here that I would like to read.

Mr. WOOD. You may file it with the clerk. Just file your statement there with the clerk.

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I would rather read it orally if it is possible.

Mr. WOOD. That isn't permitted by the committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name, please?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. Joseph Bernstein.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. Buffalo, N. Y., 1910.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state for the committee, please, what your educational training has been?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. Grade school, high school, and art school.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present employment?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. Newspaper artist.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state to the committee, please, what your record of employment has been in your profession?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. Well, just a newspaper artist.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been employed in that capacity?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. Twenty-three years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state what your employment has been—has it been on a contractual basis with different publications?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. No; with the Detroit News.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it with any other periodicals or papers besides the Detroit News?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did your employment begin with the Detroit News?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. Twenty-three years ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. Recently what has been the nature of your work with the Detroit News?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. Retouching, lay-out, lettering—about general newspaper editorial work.

Mr. TAVENNER. And the preparation of cartoons or the drawing of cartoons?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. Well, the general newspaper work it involves.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you drawn cartoons for publication?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. For the Detroit News?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. BERNSTEIN. Yes, I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. And for other papers too?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I have made other drawings, if that is what you mean, outside of the News a little—little jobs if that is what you are referring to.

Mr. TAVENNER. With what papers have those little jobs been done?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I invoke my privilege of the fifth amendment and refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. You refuse to tell the committee for whom you have worked in the drawing of cartoons; is that what I understand?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. Yes, I have that privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are taking the position that to divulge the name of the papers for which you worked would tend to incriminate you and it is because of the fifth amendment that you refuse to answer?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you always used your own name in the submission of cartoons for publication or have you used other names?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I invoke my privilege of the fifth amendment and refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever used the name of Gordon?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I invoke my privilege of the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photostatic reproduction of a page or rather a cartoon from the Michigan Worker of October 3, 1948. You will note that the cartoon deals with the relative strength of the Progressive Party in the State of Michigan. This cartoon is signed by the name of the artist—"Gordon". Will you examine the cartoon and state whether or not you drew it?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the cartoon in evidence and ask that it be marked "Bernstein Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. WOOD. Without objection, it will be admitted.

(The document referred to was marked "Bernstein Exhibit No. 1," and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you used the name of Gordon at any time?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I refuse to answer the question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photograph and ask you if you can identify the name or the person who is the subject of that photograph?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. You are asking me to identify—

Mr. TAVENNER. I am asking you if you can identify the person who is the subject of that photograph.

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I invoke my privilege and refuse to answer the question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Mr. Richard F. O'Hair?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I invoke my privilege and refuse to answer the question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that a photograph of Mr. O'Hair?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I have stated my refusal before in refusing the question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the photograph in evidence and ask that it be marked "Bernstein Exhibit No. 2."

(The document referred to was marked "Bernstein Exhibit No. 2" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Bernstein, Mr. O'Hair testified before this committee yesterday and were you present during the course of his testimony?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hear his testimony in which he identified you as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I refuse to answer that question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am asking if you merely heard his testimony.

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. In testifying before the committee Mr. O'Hair related that as membership director of the Communist Party for the State of Michigan, you were the individual to whom the membership

directors of the Communist groups or branches throughout the State of Michigan reported their membership strength and made returns of the dues collected. Was that testimony or that statement true?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you serve as membership director of the Communist Party?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a photograph of Mrs. Bereniece "Toby" Baldwin and ask you if you can identify it as a picture of her?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. Are you asking me to identify her?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer a photograph in evidence and ask that it be marked "Bernstein Exhibit No. 3."

Mr. WOOD. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Bernstein Exhibit No. 3" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Mrs. Bereniece "Toby" Baldwin?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever meet with Mrs. Baldwin as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I again invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with a person by the name of Elmer Johnson?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I again invoke my privilege and refuse to answer the question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Bernstein, the committee through its investigation has received evidence of information that you had been a member of the executive committee of section 5, district 7, of the Communist Party of the United States; is that true?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

Mr. MOULDER. Which provision of the fifth amendment are you applying in your refusal to answer?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. The provision of self-incrimination.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Bernstein, at the time that the committee had information that you were a member of the executive committee of section 5 of the Communist Party of the United States, through certain of its front organizations, primarily the American League for Peace and Democracy, it was referring to the United States as an imperialistic, warmongering Nation. This was during the period of time when Stalinist Russia and Hitler Germany were allies. Were you a member of the Communist Party during the days of the Hitler-Stalin pact?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, during the days of the Hitler-Stalin pact, did you take any course of action supporting Hitlerite Germany?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I invoke my privilege and refuse to answer the question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it not a fact that during those days, that is, during the days of the Hitler-Stalin pact, you were advocating and supporting facism?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I invoke the privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the end of the Stalin-Hitler pact, that is, upon the attack by Germany upon Russia, did you cease to become a supporter of facism?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I invoke my privilege of the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you not know, Mr. Bernstein, that the first Communist display against Hitler was a rally sponsored by the United Workers' Organization held at the Finnish summer workers' camp in the vicinity of Walled Lake Village, Mich.? Were you acquainted with that fact?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend the rally at the Finnish summer workers' camp?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I invoke the privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was this camp known to have been owned by the Finnish section of the International Workers' Order?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I invoke my privilege again in refusing to answer the question.

Mr. MOULDER. What is the International Workers' Order—will you explain it?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the International Workers' Order has been cited by the Attorney General as a Communist organization and I believe it has been cited by various other governmental agencies. On page 163 of the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications issued by our committee there is a full description of the branches of the International Workers' Order which have been cited as being communistic. There have been proceedings in various States regarding the insurance feature of the order.

Mr. Bernstein, did you attend the State convention of the Communist Party held on January 23-24, 1948, at which Carl Winter, chairman of the Communist Party of Michigan, complained about the slowness by which the Communist Party was obtained its signatures?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I claim my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Michigan State convention of the Communist Party held on the dates mentioned, that is January 23-24, 1948, according to the committee's information, was held above the Detroit Workers' Cooperative Restaurant in Hamtramck. Have you at any time attended a meeting of the Communist Party held above the Detroit Workers' Cooperative Restaurant?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I invoke my privilege again under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you on March 18, 1950, attend the closed meeting of the Communist Party called to celebrate International Women's Day?

MR. BERNSTEIN. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

MR. TAVENNER. Did you attend the 1950 state organizational conference for the State of Michigan of the Communist Party held on April 22, 1950?

MR. BERNSTEIN. I again invoke my privilege in refusing to answer the question.

MR. TAVENNER. Mr. Bernstein, I hand you a typewritten statement, or rather a mimeographed reproduction of a statement which purports to contain a list of Communist Party branches or cells within this area and in fact throughout the entire State. Will you examine it please and state whether or not you have ever seen it?

MR. BERNSTEIN. What was the question again?

MR. TAVENNER. I was asking if you have ever seen the report or the original of it?

MR. BERNSTEIN. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

MR. TAVENNER. I desire to offer it in evidence and ask that it be marked "Bernstein Exhibit No. 4."

MR. WOOD. It will be admitted.

(The document referred to was marked "Bernstein Exhibit No. 4" and received in evidence.)

MR. TAVENNER. This report purports to identify the clubs throughout the State—

MR. WOOD. What clubs?

MR. TAVENNER. Clubs of the Communist Party. It says—

The following list of clubs and figures represent goals and achievements of section as well as clubs, outstate and Detroit.

Were you acquainted with the quotas assigned to the various clubs for membership in the Communist Party?

MR. BERNSTEIN. I claim my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question?

MR. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with section goals taken in Detroit and other places throughout the State of Michigan?

MR. BERNSTEIN. I again claim my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

MR. TAVENNER. I will read the first section into the testimony:

Ford—subscriptions, 500; funds, \$2,500; recruits, 100.

Do you know what that means?

MR. BERNSTEIN. I invoke my privilege and refuse to answer the question.

MR. TAVENNER (continuing):

West side—subscriptions, 350; funds, \$2,500; recruits, 75.

East side—subscriptions, 250; funds, \$3,500; recruits, 112.

Northwest—subscriptions, 300; funds, \$3,500; recruits, 50.

Professional—subscriptions, 150; funds, \$5,000; recruits, 25.

Do you have any personal knowledge of the professional cells or groups within the Communist Party in Detroit?

MR. BERNSTEIN. I again claim my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

MR. TAVENNER. Then there is a notation appearing under that, that "The figures listed beside the professional section represent proposed quotas which have not yet been accepted by that section."

I would like also to read into the evidence the names of the branches or clubs as shown on this exhibit No. 4.

Under the heading of "Ford" there are the following: "Axle, B Building, Foundry, Open Hearth, Motor, Plastic, Pressed Steel, Tool & Die, Highland Park, Women's Auxiliary, Spring & Upset, and Miscellaneous," a total of 12.

Then the clubs or branches on the west side are as follows: "Dearborn, Delray, Detrola, Diesel, Eddie Elberts, Italian-American, McGraw, Michigan, 157, Packinghouse, GM, West Side Industrial, Vickers, Miscellaneous," a total of 14.

Then as to the east side there are the following clubs or cells: "Bohn, Briggs, Dodge, Downtown, First Congressional, Fourteenth Congressional, Hamtramck, Hamtramck Youth, Midtown, Nat Turner, Oakland, Packard, Plymouth, Polish American, Rubber, 205, 155 Chrysler and Miscellaneous," a total of 19 cells.

Then in the section known as Northwest there are the following: "Ben Davis, Fenkell, LaBelle, Tom Paine, Southfield, Teamsters, Twelfth Street, Wayne, Joe York, Herman Bottcher, and Dave White," a total of 11.

Do you know whether the Wayne cell, the Joe York cell and the Herman Bottcher cell were youth organizations within the Communist Party?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then the following listed professional cells appear here: "Cultural Theater, Detroit Special 2, Foster, John's Group, Medical, Pen & Pencil, Sholem Aleichem, Whitman, Vesey, Ped, and Miscellaneous," a total of 11.

Then appears last the out-of-State clubs or cells of the Communist Party as follows: "Ann Arbor Town, Bellaire, Flint, Grand Rapids, Haldane, Jackson, Kalamazoo, Lansing, Monroe, Muskegon, New Haven, Ralph Neafus, Pontiac, Saginaw, South Haven, Twin City, Willow Run, and Miscellaneous," a total of 18.

And then there is one cell appearing in the Upper Peninsula.

Mr. JACKSON. How many clubs does that make in all? Do you have a total?

Mr. TAVENNER. We have not actually totaled them.

Mr. MOULDER. Will you read the last statement following that? It would be well to have the record show that.

Mr. TAVENNER. There appears at the bottom of the statement the following:

These figures represent what had been turned in as of noon on Saturday, April 12, 1947, and the goals are for achievement by the May Day meeting on May 4.

Mr. MOULDER. 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. The figure 1947 that appears there was placed there by the investigative staff after investigation to determine the date. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Moulder, have you any questions?

Mr. MOULDER. Not at this time.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No questions at this time.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. Mr. Bernstein, how old are you?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. Forty-one.

Mr. POTTER. I assume that you may or may not have had some previous military service. If you were called to serve today in Korea with many other young men of this country to combat communism, would you comply with the law and serve your country in time of war against Communist forces?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I would.

Mr. POTTER. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Are there any further questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. I have one further question, please. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I claim my privilege and refuse to answer the question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness shouldn't be excused?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. BERNSTEIN. Is it possible to read my statement?

Mr. WOOD. I suggest that if you desire to do so you may file it with the clerk and the witness will be excused from further attendance. (The witness was excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, in answer to the inquiry of the member of the committee, there were 65 cells named in exhibit 4.

Mr. POTTER. That was 1947?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I call Mr. Dave Miller.

TESTIMONY OF DAVID MILLER, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, ERNEST GOODMAN

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Miller, will you raise your right hand and be sworn?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence that you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Are you represented by counsel, Mr. Miller?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Will counsel please identify himself for the record, giving his business address?

Mr. GOODMAN. Ernest Goodman, Cadillac Tower, Detroit, Mich.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Miller, you are at liberty to confer with your counsel at any time you may desire, and your counsel is at liberty to give you such information and advice from time to time as you may seek or he may think you are entitled to have.

Mr. MILLER. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name, please, sir?

Mr. MILLER. David Miller.

Mr. TAVENNER. And where were you born?

Mr. MILLER. Dundee, Scotland.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a naturalized citizen of the United States?

Mr. MILLER. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you naturalized?

Mr. MILLER. In Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. When?

Mr. MILLER. In 1926.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state briefly—

Mr. MILLER. My age you asked for—did you ask my age, when I was born?

Mr. TAVENNER. I did and I don't believe you answered it.

Mr. MILLER. Pardon me, I was born on the 5th day of February, 1891.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you please outline for the committee your occupational background or record?

Mr. MILLER. Since I came to the United States, or from boyhood?

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, I should say since 1930.

Mr. MILLER. Since 1930—I was employed at that time by the Ford Motor Co. until 1935, then for a short time with Briggs Manufacturing and then since—

Mr. TAVENNER. Excuse me, I didn't hear you as to what your employment was after leaving the Ford Motor Co.

Mr. MILLER. I was a Duco polisher, paint polisher, with the Briggs Manufacturing Co. Then I went to work for the Cadillac division of General Motors.

Mr. TAVENNER. When?

Mr. MILLER. In 1936.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you have remained there since?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir, still employed there.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the reason for your leaving the employment of the Ford Motor Co. in 1935?

Mr. MILLER. I believe that it was my intense desire to help organize a union that brought about my discharge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have an intense desire at the same time to assist the Communist Party in any particular way?

Mr. MILLER. Well now, sir, I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Didn't your discharge arise out of your activities in connection with the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. Again, sir, I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then you did not give us the full answer when you said a moment ago that your discharge from the Ford Motor Co. arose out of your intense desire to establish a union?

Mr. MILLER. That was in full accordance with my knowledge and belief at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, my question to you then, was whether or not your relationship with the Communist Party and your conduct in regard to the work of the Communist Party had anything to do with your discharge from the Ford Motor Co.?

Mr. MILLER. That sir, I wouldn't know, because in organizing a union you are not particularly interested in color, creed, race, or political affiliation.

When you go to organize a union you organize everybody in the shop because they are workers and nobody inquired as to religion or political affiliation.

Mr. WOOD. We are not inquiring about anybody else now. We are inquiring about yourself.

Mr. MILLER. As far as my knowledge is concerned, that was the only objective and purpose that we had at that time, to lay the foundation for the union in the Ford Motor Co. under the direction of A. F. of L. leadership.

Mr. TAVENNER. I was not asking you about the activities of other people but only yours. To come specifically to the point, Mr. Miller, the committee received information to the effect that your employment at the Ford Motor Co. was affected by your own conduct in placing Communist literature in new cars which were being sent out over the country. Is that true or not?

Mr. MILLER. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment to refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean to refuse to answer the question because to do so may tend to subject you to criminal prosecution if you answered it truthfully—is that your position?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right, sir, are you now a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Miller?

Mr. MILLER. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a photograph——

Mr. WOOD. Just a moment, Mr. Miller, at the time your service with the Ford Motor Co., I believe you said it was terminated in——

Mr. MILLER. 1935.

Mr. WOOD. At that time were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment, sir, and refuse to answer the question.

Mr. WOOD. All right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you present yesterday, Mr. Miller, during the testimony of Mr. Richard F. O'Hair?

Mr. MILLER. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. You heard his testimony?

Mr. MILLER. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hear him identify you as having been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. I heard him name a Dave Miller, but I have no knowledge as to who he was referring to.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Mr. O'Hair?

Mr. MILLER. Positively not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at any time a member of the midtown section of the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. I refuse to answer that question as reserving my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, when Mr. O'Hair stated that Dave Miller was a member of the Communist Party, was he making a truthful statement as far as you know? I didn't mean to hurry you, I want to give you all the opportunity you need to confer with counsel.

Mr. MILLER. Will you repeat the question, sir?

Mr. WOOD. Read the question, Mr. Reporter.

(The question was read by the official court reporter.)

Mr. MILLER. I reserve my right under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the district committee of the Communist Party of the State of Michigan as long ago as 1927?

Mr. MILLER. I reserve my right under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you active at any time in a youth congress, that is, the Michigan Youth Congress?

Mr. MILLER. I reserve my right under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Mr. William O'Dell Nowell?

Mr. MILLER. I reserve my right under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

Mr. WOOD. May I ask a question at this point?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. I understand you to say you received your citizenship papers as a naturalized citizen of the United States some time in the twenties?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. The exact year being—

Mr. MILLER. 1926.

Mr. WOOD. 1926?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Here in the district court?

Mr. MILLER. In Detroit.

Mr. WOOD. At the time you became naturalized and took the oath of allegiance to the American flag and to this country, were you then a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. Well, I refuse to answer that question taking my right under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WOOD. I think it is well taken.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Miller, you made reference to your work as an organizer to promote the establishment of unions.

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. That is in 1935.

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. Who was your immediate superior from whom you received directions in your work at the time?

Mr. MILLER. There were two organizers sent here by the central office of the A. F. of L.

Mr. MOULDER. I mean locally—who was directing you in your work?

Mr. MILLER. They came here in the State locally.

Mr. MOULDER. What official position did you hold at that time?

Mr. MILLER. None.

Mr. MOULDER. Have you since that time held any official position?

Mr. MILLER. In what union?

Mr. MOULDER. In any one.

Mr. MILLER. In the UAW-CIO, yes?

Mr. MOULDER. What was that position?

Mr. MILLER. I have held the office of president of my local union.

Mr. MOULDER. Which one was that?

Mr. MILLER. The Cadillac Division of General Motors.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you hold any now?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Mr. MOULDER. How long has it been since you were active as an organizer?

Mr. MILLER. Since I left office four years ago, 1948, I believe—1947 or 1948.

Mr. WOOD. Proceed, counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you left the employment of the Ford Motor Co., where did you go? Did you remain in Detroit or did you go to another place?

Mr. MILLER. For some time as I stated, I worked for the Briggs Manufacturing. Then there was a reduction in force there so I left, and my wife and I went to live in New York for some time.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you in New York?

Mr. MILLER. Oh, a few months, approximately a few months—I can't recall just how long.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your purpose in going to work in New York?

Mr. MILLER. My daughter lived there and we went to stay with her.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you engage in any employment of any character while in New York?

Mr. MILLER. I couldn't find a job.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you engage in any activity for the Communist Party while in New York?

Mr. MILLER. I claim my rights under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Miller, according to a program dated April 2, 1949, you were chairman of the Michigan State conference of the Civil Rights Congress. Who were the officers of the Civil Rights Congress at the time, can you recall?

Mr. MILLER. I claim my rights under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time when you were president of your local which you testified to a moment ago in response to a question by a member of the committee, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. I reserve my right under the fifth amendment and I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you employed at the time that you were president of that local?

Mr. MILLER. In Cadillac.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there a cell or group of the Communist Party organized within that industry at the time to your knowledge?

Mr. MILLER. I reserve my rights under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further question.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Moulder?

Mr. MOULDER. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. JACKSON. Were you ever associated with the German-American Bund?

Mr. MILLER. I am a Scotsman, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. That is not an answer to my question. You were not?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Mr. JACKSON. Were you ever associated with the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Were you ever associated with the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. I reserve my right under the fifth amendment.

Mr. JACKSON. You are familiar with the hostilities going on in Korea, are you not?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. With which side in that conflict do your sympathies lie?

Mr. MILLER. My allegiance lies with the United States most emphatically.

Mr. JACKSON. You would take up arms or do whatever service you were called upon to render in the event of war with the Soviet Union?

Mr. MILLER. Sir, I made that declaration when I took my citizenship papers and will live up to it.

Mr. JACKSON. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Tavenner asked you, I believe, about some local organizations as to whether or not there was any Communist activity. What organizations were those?

Mr. TAVENNER. That was as to his employment, the place of his employment—as to whether or not a cell had been organized in that industry.

Mr. MOULDER. At the present time?

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time he was president of his union.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you know whether or not there was a local cell in the Communist organization, Mr. Miller?

Mr. MILLER. Again I must reserve my right under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

Mr. MOULDER. Could you explain to the committee how that question would tend to incriminate you as to whether or not you know—

Mr. MILLER. It is my belief, sir, that I am not called upon to give the reasons for any particular answer I may give reserving my right under the fifth amendment to refuse to answer.

Mr. MOULDER. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Are there further questions of counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. You mentioned the fact that at the time you signed your application for naturalization you declared your allegiance to this country. Did you not at the same time make a statement that you were not a member of any organization which had for its purposes the overthrow of the United States Government by the use of force or violence?

Mr. MILLER. When I signed my application for citizenship papers, I did it without reservation of any kind.

Mr. WOOD. You were asked whether or not at the time you made application for citizenship you stated that you did not belong to an organization that had as its objective the overthrow of the United States Government by force or violence. Do you recall whether you made such a statement as that—such a declaration as that or not?

Mr. MILLER. If there were such statements or declarations in the application form, that is so long ago, 1926, I can't recall. I think we ought to get a copy of that particular declaration because I understand it has been changed. I understand the immediate wording has been changed from time to time.

MR. TAVENNER. So there is no misunderstanding about it, at the time you filled your application, had you been a member of any organization which had for its purpose the overthrow of the United States Government by the use of force or violence?

MR. MILLER. Again, sir, I must claim my rights under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

MR. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

MR. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness shouldn't be excused?

MR. JACKSON. Are you a member of the Communist Party today?

MR. MILLER. I reserve my right under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

MR. JACKSON. I have no further questions.

MR. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness shouldn't be excused from further attendance?

MR. TAVENNER. No, sir.

MR. WOOD. It is so ordered.

(The witness was excused.)

MR. TAVENNER. I call Mr. John Cherveny.

**TESTIMONY OF JOHN CHERVENY, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL,
HAROLD NORRIS**

MR. WOOD. Will you please stand and be sworn?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence that you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

MR. CHERVENY. Yes.

MR. WOOD. Are you represented by counsel?

MR. CHERVENY. Yes.

MR. WOOD. Will counsel identify himself for the record?

MR. NORRIS. My name is Harold Norris of the Michigan Bar, 963 Penobscot Building, Detroit.

MR. WOOD. You are at liberty to confer with your counsel as often as you may desire in the course of your testimony and seek such information and advice that you need. Your counsel is at liberty to confer with you and give you such information and advice as you may require or he may think you stand in need of.

MR. CHERVENY. I'd like to read a prepared statement at this time.

MR. WOOD. You are at liberty to file with the committee any statement you have prepared which will be considered in the record for use by the committee. The reading of the statement is not permitted by the committee.

MR. CHERVENY. I'd like to read it into the record if I may.

MR. WOOD. I still say it is not permitted by the committee.

MR. TAVENNER. What is your name please, sir?

MR. CHERVENY. John Cherveny.

MR. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

MR. CHERVENY. I was born in Yugoslavia, March 17, 1926.

MR. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in the United States?

MR. CHERVENY. Approximately 11 years.

MR. TAVENNER. Are you a naturalized American citizen?

MR. CHERVENY. I was naturalized in the Navy, 1944—in San Francisco.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. CHERVENY. In the city of Detroit, 1560 Lee Place.

Mr. TAVENNER. Through what port did you enter the United States when you first arrived?

Mr. CHERVENY. Well, Detroit or Windsor, the tunnel over here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you come alone or with your parents?

Mr. CHERVENY. I came with my father and my brothers and sisters.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you receive your citizenship through the derivative process?

Mr. CHERVENY. I received my naturalization papers through the Navy Department. I volunteered for the Navy service and was taken, and after 3 months of being in California I was taken to the district court in San Francisco and naturalized.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you outline, please, for the committee your educational training and background?

Mr. CHERVENY. Grammar school, high school, and 3 years of college.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you complete your college work?

Mr. CHERVENY. Approximately in the early part of 1949, I am not sure of the month.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you finish your college training?

Mr. CHERVENY. Wayne University.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the period you were a student at Wayne University, were you president of the Wayne University chapter of the American Youth for Democracy?

Mr. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer that relying upon my fifth-amendment privilege under the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

Mr. TAVENNER. What provision in the Constitution?

Mr. CHERVENY. I have already answered that question—the fifth amendment. There is only one provision there.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is that provision?

Mr. CHERVENY. That provision is the one where one cannot testify against oneself.

Mr. TAVENNER. One cannot?

Mr. CHERVENY. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Or one may not?

Mr. CHERVENY. You are the lawmaker, I am not. You should know the wording.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is your refusal to answer based upon an actual fear on your part that to do so truthfully might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. CHERVENY. It is based upon the fact that this is a witch-hunt.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then it is not any fear of criminal prosecution. I request that the witness be directed to answer the question.

Mr. CHERVENY. I again invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean you are changing your position at this time?

Mr. CHERVENY. I again invoke my privilege to answer that question.

Mr. Wood. Well, the question asked you a moment ago which you are directed to answer was whether or not your declining to answer is based on your statement that this was a witch-hunt or upon your fear of criminal prosecution for answering truthfully. Which is it?

Mr. CHERVENY. The latter—fear of criminal prosecution.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you advise the committee of the origin of the American Youth for Democracy first as a national organization if you know?

MR. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer that question basing it on the fifth amendment.

MR. TAVENNER. This committee has made some investigation of that matter and let me give you the results of its investigation and ask you whether or not this information is in error in any respect as far as you know: according to an investigation and report issued by the Committee on Un-American Activities, the American Youth for Democracy was founded in New York City by the same delegates who were called to New York for a convention of the Young Communist League.

The records of the committee establish that these delegates at the morning session of the Young Communist League voted to disband the Young Communist League and that the same delegates met in the afternoon and formed the American Youth for Democracy and elected its new officers from the delegates to the Young Communist League Convention.

With the American Youth for Democracy then having been created by the Communist Party Youth Commission, did you as chairman of the Wayne University chapter consult with leaders of the Communist Party in Detroit with respect to the activities of your organization? Now that may be a double question. First let me ask you whether or not the fact or actual situation with regard to the creation of the American Youth for Democracy is correct?

MR. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer that question relying upon my fifth amendment of the Constitution.

MR. TAVENNER. Well, were you present as a delegate at the Convention of the Young Communist League, which as described brought about the formation of the American Youth for Democracy?

MR. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer that for the same reason, sir.

MR. TAVENNER. Well then, I repeat the last part of the former question: Did you as chairman of the Wayne University chapter of the American Youth for Democracy consult leaders of the Communist Party in Detroit with regard to the activities of your organization at Wayne University?

MR. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer that, sir, invoking my privilege under the fifth amendment.

MR. TAVENNER. I hand you a clipping which appeared in a Detroit newspaper entitled, "Parent Ties Held by Wayne's AYD." You will note in this story by Irmengard Pohrt that you are quoted in connection with a discussion relative to the severing of Wayne chapter ties with the national AYD organization. Will you examine the article, please?

You will note a quotation there from you as follows:

We would be betraying our entire progressive program and betraying our own AYD.

Will you state to the committee what you meant by that statement if you were correctly quoted?

MR. CHERVENY. What was that question again, sir?

MR. TAVENNER. I called your attention to the quotation which I will ask you to follow by looking at the paper—

We would be betraying our entire progressive program and betraying our own AYD.

Do you see that?

Mr. CHERVENY. I see that quote.

Mr. TAVENNER. What did you mean by it?

Mr. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer that, sir, invoking the privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, are you giving that answer because you had in mind betraying the program of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it a fact that you objected to the severance of connection of your local organization with the national AYD because to do so would be a desertion of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer that, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I wish you would examine the article further, please, and see if you find in it a statement to the effect that you denied you were a member of the Communist Party or that you had ever attended Communist Party meetings. Will you examine it and see if you find that statement?

Mr. CHERVENY. That statement is attributed to me in this article.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it truthful—were you truthfully and correctly reported?

Mr. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer that, sir, invoking my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WOOD. Well, at the time that article was printed, did you authorize any person to so quote you then?

Mr. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer that, sir, on the grounds of self-incrimination.

Mr. WOOD. I will ask you then if you were correctly quoted as appears in that article? Did you use those words yourself from which the writer of the article quoted you?

Mr. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer that question, sir.

Mr. WOOD. I was insisting upon it because you now have a forum in which you may deny it and we will be happy to have you do so truthfully.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, regardless of whether or not you were correctly quoted, had you at that time attended a Communist Party meeting?

Mr. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer that, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party at the time that this statement was allegedly made by you?

Mr. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer that, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I offer, to be made a part of the record as an exhibit, the article referred to and ask that it be given the number of "Cherveny Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. WOOD. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Cherveny Exhibit No. 1" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Cherveny, on December 15, 1947, a meeting was held at 275 East Ferry, at which the principal speakers were Gerhart Eisler, Carl Marzani, and Mrs. Ann Shore of the Civil Rights Congress. Will you tell the committee, please, what knowledge you have of the holding of this meeting and its purpose?

Mr. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer that question, sir, invoking my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who arranged for that meeting?

Mr. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer that on the same basis, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. How was Mr. Eisler's and Mr. Marzani's participation in the program obtained?

Mr. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer that, sir, under the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photograph containing the pictures of three individuals. Will you identify the photograph of the individual in the center?

Mr. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it not your photograph?

Mr. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are not the photographs of Gerhart Eisler and Carl Marzani to the right and to the left of you in that photograph?

Mr. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer, sir, on the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, at that time Mr. Gerhart Eisler was under indictment for contempt of the Committee on Un-American Activities and Carl Marzani was under indictment for denying membership in the Communist Party at a time when he was employed by the United States Government.

Can you explain to the committee the real purpose of having them as speakers before your organization under those circumstances?

Mr. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer that, sir, placing myself on the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did it have anything to do with the raising of funds for their defense?

Mr. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer that, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know to what extent the Communist Party engineered or planned or counseled the holding of such a meeting with such persons addressing the meeting?

Mr. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer that on the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer the photograph in evidence and ask that it be marked "Cherveny Exhibit No. 2."

Mr. Wood. It will be admitted.

(The document referred to was marked "Cherveny Exhibit No. 2" and received in evidence.)

Mr. JACKSON. Is this Gerhart Eisler the same Eisler who fled from this country on the *Batory* and is now active in educational work in Eastern Germany?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir. Were you employed at any time by American Metal Products?

Mr. CHERVENY. Well, prior to my being called here I was employed there and I hope I still have a job there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Maurice Cook?

Mr. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer on the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with his former wife, Eleanor Laffrey Cook?

Mr. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer that under the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether her name is now Elinor Laffrey Maki?

Mr. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee please, what Communist Party functionary in Detroit if any, counseled and advised the AYD organization at Wayne University in the conduct of its affairs?

Mr. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer that. I am placing myself upon my fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Moulder?

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Cherveny, in response to a question asked you by counsel, you made reference to this committee's actions here as being a witch hunt. Do you mean by that that the committee seeks something that exists only in one's imagination and that it doesn't really exist?

Mr. CHERVENY. Sir, I think the committee should seek out people in Florida. They are terrorizing people. These are the real subversives—not in Detroit.

Mr. MOULDER. I said, do you mean by this being a witch hunt that the committee seeks information on something that really doesn't exist?

Mr. CHERVENY. I think the committee is using the hearing to smoke-screen and fool the American people into a witch hunt and scare.

Mr. MOULDER. Taking the ordinary usage of the word, and if that is true, why did you refuse to answer questions on the belief that it might tend to incriminate you from criminal prosecution? In other words, if the committee is seeking information on subjects which don't exist and are not dangerous, then why aren't your answers in connection with that, and not so seriously taken by you as being afraid that your answers might tend to incriminate you for criminal prosecution?

Mr. CHERVENY. It is my opinion, Congressman, that it is impossible to conduct an objective hearing in view of the kind of atmosphere this committee generates. Wherever it goes, it scares people. People lose their jobs and people are afraid to speak their mind.

Mr. WOOD. Are you afraid now?

Mr. CHERVENY. I would not be afraid to debate any point with this committee if we could go out and get a town hall and discuss the questions that the American people are faced with.

Mr. WOOD. I want a plain answer to this: At the present moment, are you under any apprehension of danger here?

Mr. CHERVENY. I think that the procedures have an atmosphere of a witch hunt.

Mr. WOOD. Are you personally now afraid of any injury being committed on you here? If so, I will send out to see if I can get guards to stand around you.

Mr. CHERVENY. You see, sir, there are different kinds of fears. One is to express one's opinion.

Mr. WOOD. Will you answer my question? Are you now experiencing any danger or any apprehension of danger to yourself?

Mr. CHERVENY. I probably just lost my job and won't be able to support my kid and wife.

Mr. WOOD. Why did you lose your job, if you have?

Mr. CHERVENY. Well, it has been the custom of this committee whenever witnesses are called, that they are so discredited by the headlines and the witch-hunting type of questions asked, that the person, if he has a job, or she, loses the job.

Mr. WOOD. Don't you think if you are guilty of any conduct in the past that might tend to mitigate against you in the eyes of your employer, this is the best forum you can get to so deny it?

Mr. CHERVENY. If I could face my accusers—if this is a regular court where I could see the people accusing me, then it would be something else. I have nothing to say—I have to answer “Yes” or “No.”

Mr. WOOD. There is nobody accusing you. We are simply giving you an opportunity to say whether or not you belong to this conspiracy directed from abroad whose sole object and purpose is to destroy constitutional liberty everywhere. If you want to answer it and if you want to deny it—truthfully deny it—we will be happy to have you do so. I get worried when I hear folks who are witnesses before this committee say that they are afraid somebody is going to be hurt.

Mr. CHERVENY. If you can tell me how I can support my wife and kid——

Mr. WOOD. I hope you can do that and continue to support them in a free government and free country without having to be taken over by the Communist conspiracy.

Mr. CHERVENY. And the Ku Klux Klan.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Cherveny, you mentioned you would like to debate the issues——

Mr. CHERVENY. Outside where Congress doesn't have immunity, in the town meeting.

Mr. MOULDER. Which issue do you wish to discuss?

Mr. CHERVENY. Any issues the committee chooses.

Mr. MOULDER. The Communist Party for example—communistic activities in this country? Are you a member of that organization?

Mr. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer that, sir, placing myself on the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

Mr. MOULDER. How can you debate issues on the subject which you refuse to discuss? How can you?

Mr. CHERVENY. I have answered that question.

Mr. MOULDER. May I ask you another question: Before you attended this meeting here and appeared before the committee as a witness, did you confer with anyone else in respect to your testimony other than your attorney?

Mr. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer that, placing myself on the fifth amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you attend any Communist meetings and confer with anyone with reference to what your conduct and testimony was going to be here before the committee?

Mr. CHERVENY. I refuse to answer that sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. MOULDER. That is all.

Mr. JACKSON. I have only to say that I consider the gentleman very fortunate to be able to appear before a congressional committee of the United States Congress rather than a committee of the Politburo. Your conduct here today would insure holes in your head by tomorrow morning before a Soviet court.

Mr. WOOD. I announced at the beginning of these hearings, ladies and gentlemen, and perhaps I should have done it again this morning because there may be some here who were not here yesterday: We will not countenance any demonstration favorable or unfavorable to what may be said here by either witnesses or members of this committee.

I would regret very much to have the officers clear the room. Similar demonstrations positively will not be permitted again. Are there any further questions?

Mr. JACKSON. Simply to say it seems to me, Mr. Chairman, if there is any hysteria in Detroit or elsewhere in the country, it is not in this committee. The obvious hysteria is walking up and down in front of the Federal Building picketing. It is doing a number of other things, and no limitations are being placed upon these people saying or doing exactly as they wish. It is fortunate that you got out of Yugoslavia before Tito came in. I congratulate you upon the privilege that is yours of living in a free land. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. You stated that you would appreciate the opportunity of debating with the committee or any one member of the committee, I assume, in a hall where you could discuss the issues. Is it because in a hall, outside of this committee, where you are under oath to tell the truth, you then would be able to utilize your propaganda where truth is of secondary nature to the objectives of your propaganda that you care to use? Here you are bound to tell the truth—you are sworn to tell the truth. Now, is that the reason that you prefer another forum because there you are not required to tell the truth?

Mr. NORRIS. If I may suggest, that calls for a legal conclusion, Mr. Potter, and as to that we have to recognize that there is a composite entrapment here being faced with perjury and contempt, or the Smith Act. That is, prosecution under this type of proceedings. There is a difference between this type of proceedings and an open forum.

Mr. POTTER. I still say that unless you are a member of an international conspiracy or unless you are a part of that conspiracy, you can tell the truth with no fear of reprisal.

Mr. WOOD. Are there any further questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. I do not recall whether the witness gave us the date of his arrival in the United States. I would like to ask that.

Mr. CHERVENY. I answered that.

Mr. TAVENNER. What date was it?

Mr. CHERVENY. You mean the exact date?

Mr. TAVENNER. As near as you can give us.

Mr. CHERVENY. It was approximately December of 1941.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. When were you naturalized as an American citizen?

Mr. CHERVENY. I was naturalized by the Navy Department.

Mr. WOOD. You had service in the Navy?

Mr. CHERVENY. That is right.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness shouldn't be excused from further attendance, Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. It is so ordered, and the committee stands in recess.

(The witness was excused.)

(A short recess was taken.)

Mr. WOOD. Let the committee come to order. Mr. Counsel, are you ready to proceed?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Who do you have as the next witness?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Walter Dunn.

TESTIMONY OF WALTER SCOTT DUNN

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Dunn, will you come forward and be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DUNN. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. DUNN. No.

Mr. WOOD. You have the privilege of having such counsel of your choice if you may desire.

Mr. DUNN. I don't care for any, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name?

Mr. DUNN. Walter Scott Dunn.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. DUNN. In England in 1903.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you come to this country from England?

Mr. DUNN. Around 1925.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you enter?

Mr. DUNN. Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a naturalized American citizen?

Mr. DUNN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you obtain naturalization and where?

Mr. DUNN. In Detroit on November 13, 1933.

Mr. TAVENNER. I didn't understand the date.

Mr. DUNN. Detroit, November 13, 1933.

Mr. TAVENNER. How are you now employed?

Mr. DUNN. I work at the Wayne County Jail as a jail guard.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been employed there?

Mr. DUNN. About 3½ years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that time what has been your employment say for the past 10 years?

Mr. DUNN. Automobile painter.

Mr. TAVENNER. Employed where?

Mr. DUNN. Mostly at the Cadillac Motor.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Dunn, are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DUNN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you at any time been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DUNN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you join the party?

Mr. DUNN. 1941.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, when did you cease to be a member?

Mr. DUNN. Either the latter part of 1946 or the early part of 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee wishes to obtain from you such information as you can give us regarding your experiences in the Communist Party, and your knowledge of the operation of the Communist Party in this area during the time that you were affiliated with it. I think the best place to begin is right at the beginning. Would you tell the committee how you were recruited into the party, please?

Mr. DUNN. Well, I was active in the labor movement—I have been since probably 1928 and as you know, in the labor movement, particu-

larly the UAW, you have two wings—the left wing and the right wing which is the political nucleus of the union. I was always a so-called left-winger because I believed the program was more to the interest of the workers than what the right wing was. As a result of that I met several members of the party and I was finally recruited by Eddie Elbert¹ who worked at Cadillac with me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the Communist Party making any extended effort at the time in 1941 to recruit members of the trade-union groups into the Communist Party?

Mr. DUNN. Well, I don't know what you mean by an extended effort. Will you clarify that?

Mr. TAVENNER. Were they making any effort to appeal to the trade-unionists?

Mr. DUNN. I think I could answer "Yes" to that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well now, will you tell the committee a little more of the circumstances under which Eddie Elbert recruited you into the party?

Mr. DUNN. Well, we used to have caucuses where policies would be discussed—what policy we were going to follow in our local union, so that as a result of that maybe a half a dozen people would get together at someone's home and we would formulate a policy and then we'd go into a large caucus and from that a policy would be adopted; and I recall Eddie Elbert was one of these few people that used to meet in these smaller caucuses. That is how I first got to know him.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were the members of these caucuses selected?

Mr. DUNN. Well, they'd take a man that was active, probably a steward or committeeman and ask him if he believed in such-and-so program. If he did, we'd invite him to this caucus.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then if the membership of a particular caucus contained enough members of the Communist Party, they could control through this caucus, virtually control, the action of the union on any particular issue, could it not?

Mr. DUNN. Well, I'd say on some issues, yes; but on a number of issues they didn't. Just the ordinary left-wing guy would have numbers enough to on many occasions outvote the Communist Party members.

Mr. TAVENNER. But would you state that that is the method that was used by the Communist Party to exercise its influence and control of the union?

Mr. DUNN. I imagine that was the purpose of it but it didn't always succeed, I want to make that clear.

Mr. POTTER. Mr. Counsel, I have heard that even within the left-wing section that sometimes that will be divided between a right and left wing, your left being your members of the Communist Party and your so-called right wing of your left-wing group would be non-Communists who accepted and believed in the left-wing program. Is that true, Mr. Dunn?

Mr. DUNN. That is true; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it while you were employed at the Cadillac plant that you were recruited into the party?

Mr. DUNN. Yes.

¹ Deceased.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you assigned to a particular unit or cell when you were brought into the party?

Mr. DUNN. Assigned to the Cadillac unit, Cadillac branch as they called it.

Mr. TAVENNER. In addition to the group of the Communist Party within the Cadillac plant, I would like for you to advise the committee in a general way as to just what the composition of the Communist Party in Detroit was at the time you became a member.

Mr. DUNN. Well, I didn't know much at that particular time about what was going on in any place else, but I did know what the composition was on the west side.

In the industrial sections we had what they call a section which took in several branches. Cadillac was part of that section. The Ford group was part of that section until it became too unwieldy. They broke away from the other main section which was composed of many small plants. So there were two sections then.

Mr. TAVENNER. We have heard evidence relating to the fifth section. Will you tell us about the other sections? Can you tell us about the formation of the other sections as to what organizations were embraced within? For instance, I understand you know about the second section. Will you begin by telling us which plants were represented in the second section, if you know?

Mr. DUNN. Well, I don't know whether it was the second section or not, but if it was, if this was the section I belonged to, they were composed of Cadillac, Timken, Ternstedt, Kelsey-Hayes, and many other small shops.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then, as I understand and you have already said, that the cells among the employees working in the Ford plant were withdrawn from these sections and made a separate section all to itself?

Mr. DUNN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall how many sections were in the Ford plant?

Mr. DUNN. Just one section.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just one section, but how many cells?

Mr. DUNN. I don't know; I couldn't answer that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, going back to the group or cell in which you were a member, the one at Cadillac, who were the officers when you became a member?

Mr. DUNN. Eddie Elbert was the branch organizer and I can't remember who the other officers were, if there were any other officers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become an officer in time in your group—the one at Cadillac?

Mr. DUNN. Yes; I became branch organizer.

Mr. TAVENNER. About how many people were in this group or cell of the party?

Mr. DUNN. About 11 people.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us their names, please. Those in addition to Eddie Elbert, whom you have already mentioned.

Mr. DUNN. Well, I can't recall some of the names. There was Max Ireland.

Mr. TAVENNER. Max Ireland?

Mr. DUNN. Yes. Then there was Katherine Lynch, who was attached to that section, because I don't think they had any place to put her. She was on the Free Press at the time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did she have any particular function to play in your group?

Mr. DUNN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. She was just attached to your group for lack of a proper group?

Mr. DUNN. As far as I know, that is the way it was.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did she remain a member of that group to your knowledge?

Mr. DUNN. Oh, just 2 or 3 months, I think it was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, do you know what her position was in the Communist Party or to what group she was assigned after she left your group?

Mr. DUNN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have any knowledge, that is, of your own personal knowledge, regarding the formation of professional cells in the Communist Party?

Mr. DUNN. No; I don't know anything about that.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is to which members of the various professions may have belonged?

Mr. DUNN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right, if you will proceed, please. You have given us the names of Max Ireland and Katherine Lynch.

Mr. DUNN. Well, there is Oscar Barnes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Alex Hatcher a member of your group?

Mr. DUNN. No; I am not quite sure about that. He may have been but I couldn't for certain tell you whether he was or not. I was acquainted with the man. He was a committeeman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he employed at Cadillac?

Mr. DUNN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DUNN. I heard that he had been but I mean that doesn't mean anything, what you hear.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would prefer that you not repeat matters that you have merely heard. If you have knowledge such as that which you would acquire by sitting in closed Communist Party meetings with individuals, we would like to have the information. Do you recall having been in Communist Party meetings with him during the time you were an organizer of the Communist Party club at Cadillac?

Mr. DUNN. I couldn't say for sure whether I was ever in their closed meetings with Alex Hatcher.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall any others at this time?

Mr. DUNN. No, actually I can't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did the Cadillac cell of the Communist Party hold its meetings?

Mr. DUNN. Oh, they were liable to hold them any place, but eventually they held them, I think it was on Michigan Avenue.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the address on Michigan Avenue?

Mr. DUNN. No, but it was near Junction Avenue, somewhere around there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it not a fact that in addition to the cells or lower groups or levels of the party having their own organizations, that the section groups, or the sections, have their organizations likewise?

Mr. DUNN. That is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever represent your club or cell of the party as a member of the section group?

Mr. DUNN. Yes. At first I was sent as a sort of a delegate to the section, and later I was the organizational secretary for the section.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you organizational secretary?

Mr. DUNN. Oh, I'd say between 6 months and a year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you fix the approximate time?

Mr. DUNN. I would say about 1942.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did it hold its meetings?

Mr. DUNN. On Michigan Avenue at the same address.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the membership of that section group?

Mr. DUNN. That would be pretty hard for me to say but I will assume it would be between 100 and 150.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, how was the membership made up?

Mr. DUNN. Of the branches. Each branch sent a representative to the section, that is what made up the sections—the representatives from those branches.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does that mean there was a separate branch for each member of the section?

Mr. DUNN. Well, in some cases two would come from a branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the officers of the second section at the time that you held the position of organizational secretary?

Mr. DUNN. Well, the only one I can think of for sure was Jack White. He was the chairman of the section.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall the name of the literature director?

Mr. DUNN. No, I couldn't actually.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall the names of other persons who were members of this section group?

Mr. DUNN. Which section are you talking about now? Are you talking about the original section or——

Mr. TAVENNER. I think we should confine the testimony at this point to the one of which you were the organizational secretary, which I believe was section 2, isn't that correct?

Mr. DUNN. Well, I can't think of any of the other officers of the section. It happened a long time ago. I can't recall their names.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understand. Were you acquainted with William Allan?

Mr. DUNN. Yes, I was acquainted with William Allan even prior to this time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell the committee whether or not he was a member of the party, that is Communist Party, to your knowledge, and if so just what his functions were?

Mr. DUNN. Well, as I recall it, he was the organizer for the original section, the west side section.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether he had any special connection with the organization of the groups of the Communist Party within Ford, that is within the Ford plant?

Mr. DUNN. I think he did. I think he spent quite a bit of time with the Ford group.

Mr. TAVENNER. What other persons were associated with him in that work at Ford, to your knowledge?

Mr. DUNN. Well, I recall Ed Lock and Paul Boatin.

Mr. TAVENNER. Ed Lock? How do you spell that?

Mr. DUNN. I don't know—L-o-c-k.

Mr. TAVENNER. The best you can recall is that the spelling is L-o-c-k?

Mr. DUNN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Very well. Now you mentioned Paul Boatin?

Mr. DUNN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is B-o-a-t-i-n?

Mr. DUNN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just what were the functions of those two persons, if you can recall?

Mr. DUNN. I couldn't tell you that. I just know that I saw them at a meeting of the large section before it was split up. I recall those two gentlemen being at that meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. You referred to the section being split up. When did that occur?

Mr. DUNN. I presume sometime in 1942 or 1941—or 1942.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are referring to the Ford cells in the Ford plant, leaving your section and forming a section of its own. That is the time you are speaking of?

Mr. DUNN. That is the time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there any change in the organizational set-up of the party when the Communist Political Association was created in 1944?

Mr. DUNN. Well, yes, they disbanded the branches and the sections and they created neighborhood clubs.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, those persons who were members of the branches in industry were transferred to community clubs?

Mr. DUNN. I wouldn't give the term "transfer," I would say they were advised to join neighborhood clubs.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did they join community clubs?

Mr. DUNN. Well, that would be hard for me to answer because maybe a man will be working at Cadillac that lived on the East Side who had been in the Cadillac branch. I wouldn't know whether he joined the East Side club or not, but I'd meet quite a few people who I met in various branches in the Midtown Club which I joined myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, will you tell the committee please, what activities you engaged in while a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Political Association? What were some of the activities of that club which you engaged in or had personal knowledge of?

Mr. DUNN. Well, primarily I was interested in political action and I met a fellow by the name of Dan Ryan, who was later elected State Senator, and he was organizing sort of a rump Democratic Club. There was some difference between many of the Democratic delegates. He got a hold of a few of these Democratic delegates and talked to me and talked to several trade-unionists that he knew.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were those trade-unionists members of the Communist Party?

Mr. DUNN. No; and we decided to set up this club. We called it the Thirteenth District Democratic Club and the purpose of this was to remove the chairman of the Democratic Party who was Congressman George D. O'Brien, but we didn't succeed.

Mr. TAVENNER. The purpose was to what?

Mr. DUNN. To remove the chairman of the Thirteenth district.

Mr. TAVENNER. To remove him?

Mr. DUNN. To put a more liberal type of fellow in there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, when you say "We" to whom do you refer?

Mr. DUNN. I refer to the coalition forces that made up this Democratic Club.

Mr. TAVENNER. And was that coalition directed and counseled by the Communist Party?

Mr. DUNN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there persons on it other than yourself who were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. DUNN. Well, by the time this club had developed, the Communist Party went out of existence and the Communist Political Association took form.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, I was drawing the distinction between the two.

Mr. DUNN. So I would say there were members of the Communist Political Association in this club.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, was this an activity of the Communist Political Association—the Midtown Club—which brought about this coalition and worked in favor of promoting the coalition?

Mr. DUNN. Well, the way it happened—they set up a political action committee in the Midtown Club and I think I was chairman of that committee, and the committee when they met decided that we would advise all members to join this club; since there was no Communist Party anymore, the thing to do was to join the Democratic Party if we wanted to get some political action.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, was this group which you called, or say was, a coalition and which bore the name "Democratic Club," organized pursuant to a plan developed or discussed within your Midtown Communist Political Association?

Mr. DUNN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. It was independent of that in its origin?

Mr. DUNN. Yes. I know that for sure because I was——

Mr. TAVENNER. But as the work of the coalition continued, your Midtown Club advised its members to get into it?

Mr. DUNN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did they advise its members to get into it with the idea of exercising control and direction of it?

Mr. DUNN. Well, it all depends what you mean by "control." I think they were primarily interested in winning an election at the time and they wanted to get as many forces as they could to man the precincts and get the vote out. I don't think there was any actual thinking on the part of the Communist Political Association members of taking over the club. I don't think that was in the minds of anybody.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are there any other activities of the Communist Political Association or rather the Midtown Club which you can tell the committee about?

Mr. DUNN. Do you mean the activities that the club was engaged in?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; that is right.

Mr. DUNN. Oh, they were engaged in selling literature, selling the press, demonstrating on public matters—maybe on prices or something like that, would organize demonstrations and stuff of that nature.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the incident of Duclos?

Mr. DUNN. Yes; I recall that well.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell the committee what the effect of the Duclos letter was in Detroit. Possibly you should begin by stating what the Duclos letter was, if you recall.

Mr. DUNN. Well, to put it simply, it was a criticism of the activities of the Communists in the United States, that they weren't doing what they were supposed to do, that the leadership was leading them astray, and so forth.

Mr. TAVENNER. This was criticism emanating from abroad, was it not?

Mr. DUNN. From France.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is, the Communist International chose as the means of conveying the criticism a letter in the Communist circles in France by Duclos who wrote this letter criticizing the activities of the Communist Party of the United States and that was accepted, was it not, as a directive from the Third International to change the whole program of the Communist Party?

Mr. DUNN. There was no international at that time. The international had been disbanded.

Mr. TAVENNER. But the secretaries of all of the groups were nevertheless associated together, and by that means directed the activities of the Communist Party, though in form the international may have been out of existence?

Mr. DUNN. Well, that is the way it would appear today when you look back, you know—that is the way it would appear to me today, that that was exactly done.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now as a result of that Duclos letter criticizing the Communist Party, what happened here in Detroit? What was the reaction here?

Mr. DUNN. There was a long debate that lasted months, and it seems to me it lasted an awful long time over the question of whether this was correct or not, whether the national leadership was leading us right or was it leading us wrong, and the eventual outcome of that was that Earl Browder was kicked out and William Z. Foster was the national chairman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, what organizational changes resulted here in Detroit as a result of the reactivation of the Communist Party in 1945?

Mr. DUNN. Well, they voted on whether to disband the Communist Political Association and form a party again. And that was debated quite a while and finally acted upon and the Communist Party came into being again.

Mr. TAVENNER. After it came into being, were the branches reestablished in the Ford plants, and were the branches in other industries including Cadillac reestablished as before?

Mr. DUNN. Yes; that is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you return to your own former unit of the party?

Mr. DUNN. I did for a short while, then I quit. It was very shortly after that that I quit.

Mr. TAVENNER. After you returned to Cadillac did you continue in any special function of the party there as an officer?

Mr. DUNN. I was the branch organizer for a while, then a chap by the name of Carl Rogers succeeded me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Carl Rogers?

Mr. DUNN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. He was employed at Cadillac, I suppose?

Mr. DUNN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was any new organizational work done at or about that time in which you played a part?

Mr. DUNN. Well, the General Motors strike occurred at that time. That took up the complete attention of the branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did the party organize a cell within the General Motors Corp. at that time or prior to the strike that you referred to?

Mr. DUNN. It seems to me there was a General Motors Club set up for the purpose of assisting in the strike.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any connection with it?

Mr. DUNN. I was some kind of functionary; I don't remember what it was though.

Mr. TAVENNER. Weren't you one of the organizers of the new group to be set up within General Motors to aid in this strike as you mentioned?

Mr. DUNN. No; I don't think I was. You see, at that time I was elected publicity director for the strike in the Detroit area and that occupied all my time so I don't see how I could have been doing any organizing.

Mr. Wood. Counsel, let us take a recess for lunch. The committee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:35 p. m., the hearing was recessed until 2 p. m. the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. Wood. We will have order, please.

Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to recall for further examination, Mr. Walter Dunn.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Dunn, will you come back to the stand, please?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Dunn, did you at any time become a candidate for political office while you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DUNN. Yes. In 1946, I was a candidate for the State—for State senator in the fourth senatorial district.

Mr. TAVENNER. On what ticket were you running?

Mr. DUNN. On the Communist Party ticket.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was in 1946?

Mr. DUNN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you elected?

Mr. DUNN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee may be interested in the circumstances under which you ran for election on the Communist Party ticket, and what support you received from the Communist Party, and any other facts relating to it to show the interest of the Communist Party and its effort to build a political organization.

Mr. DUNN. Well, in the first place, quite a bunch of us in the Thirteenth Congressional District, party members, got together and discussed the question of running me on the Democratic ticket, be-

cause this was just around the time when the association was abandoned and they came back to the party. In fact, I had my petitions already signed to run as a candidate for State senator on the Democratic Party ticket, when there was some question raised about the advisability of me doing that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Raised by whom?

Mr. DUNN. By the district office.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of what?

Mr. DUNN. Of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Proceed.

Mr. DUNN. A meeting was called in Jericho Temple by probably two dozen party members who resided in the Thirteenth District.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that a regular meeting place for the Communist Party?

Mr. DUNN. Not to my knowledge, no. We just rented the hall for that evening. This whole question was thrashed out and a vote cast and taken on it. They voted unanimously for me to run as a Democrat, but either the day before or after——

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean you got your decision as to running on the Democratic Party ticket in the Communist meeting?

Mr. DUNN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was a Communist direction and it was Communist support that you were being promised?

Mr. DUNN. Well, you see, you have to visualize just what went on at that time. Most of us at that meeting had been elected precinct delegates on the Democratic ticket, and during this period the change came over, where the party was brought back into life again, but it had not established itself solidly enough, shall I say, and people were still thinking in terms of the Democratic Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. But at any rate, you say you got the approval, the unanimous approval, of the Communists who attended this meeting that you should run on the Democratic ticket?

Mr. DUNN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you proceed?

Mr. DUNN. In either 1 or 2 or 3 days later, I was informed by Helen Allison that if I ran on any ticket, I would run on the Communist Party ticket.

Mr. TAVENNER. And who was this Allison person?

Mr. DUNN. Carl Winter's wife.

Mr. TAVENNER. She gave you directions that if you ran on any ticket, you would run on the Communist Party ticket?

Mr. DUNN. That is right. That's when I found out there was no democracy in the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were not asked to express your opinion or your willingness to run on the Communist Party ticket; you were just told to do that?

Mr. DUNN. No. I mean this was the first discussion we had on it. Later I agreed to run on the Communist Party ticket.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was any reason expressed why you should not be permitted to run on the Democratic ticket?

Mr. DUNN. Well, the only reason was told to me was to forget about the Democratic Party. "We don't want any more part of the Democratic Party."

Mr. TAVENNER. That was in what year?

Mr. DUNN. 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then you followed the suggestion or direction given by Mrs. Winter and became a candidate on the Communist Party ticket?

Mr. DUNN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are there any other circumstances surrounding that campaign which you recall and which may throw some light upon the extent of the interest of the Communist Party in State elections?

Mr. DUNN. Well, there was one thing that happened that interested me very much. There was a Negro lady that ran for State senator in the third senatorial district on the Communist Party ticket. I ran in the fourth senatorial district on the Communist Party ticket. The make-up of the neighborhood that I ran in was practically an all white neighborhood. In the neighborhood where this Negro lady was running, it was practically solidly Negro neighborhood.

There is a common belief that the Communist Party propaganda has penetrated into the Negro groups and sways them much more than it does the white people. However, the results of that election, at least, did not prove that to me, because either I got 199 votes and she got 203, or it was reversed, but the vote was so close that it amazed me at the time.

From that, I assumed that the Communist Party as such was not influencing the people.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, as far as the colored people were concerned, there was no greater support given a Communist Party candidate for office than in the sections where the white voters predominated?

Mr. DUNN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you break with the Communist Party?

Mr. DUNN. Well, I am not quite sure about that, but it was shortly after that period that I broke. I mean, these were things that were developing in my mind. I didn't appreciate the policy that they adopted when they decided to bring the party back to life again. I didn't mention it at the time, but I was in complete disagreement, in my own mind, and this thing lingered for awhile.

I finally decided that I just couldn't go along with them.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you finally took the step of leaving the party?

Mr. DUNN. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was your break with the party absolute and complete?

Mr. DUNN. Well, two gentlemen came to my house one day and I told them that I was quitting. They told me I couldn't quit. I said, "I am quitting, so good day, gentlemen." I afterward learned that I was expelled.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the two persons that came to see you?

Mr. DUNN. I don't know who they were. I know one fellow but can't recall his name. The other man I never seen before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you been solicited since that time to reunite with the Communist Party?

Mr. DUNN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee, I believe, thoroughly understands that the matter takes far more courage to get out of the Communist Party than it does to get into it.

Mr. DUNN. I think that is quite true. There are quite a few people in the Communist Party right now that would be glad to get out, only they have not got the courage to get out.

Mr. WOOD. Were you ever officially notified by any party official that you had been expelled?

Mr. DUNN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like for you to explain a little more concretely your reasons for leaving the Communist Party; just how they developed.

Mr. DUNN. Well, with the advent of the Communist Political Association, I enjoyed my work in this association. We used to work in the Democratic Party influencing the program of the Democratic Party, and it was a liberal program, and it seemed like the whole thing was to the best interests of everybody, the program that was advocated.

When they changed, I mean everything changed, you know. The people who were our former allies—I don't mean world-wide—I mean locally or on a State level or national level—they suddenly became our enemies. I just couldn't understand that and why we had to attack certain people.

Of course, there was an explanation given to me which I was supposed to understand, but I couldn't.

Mr. POTTER. What were the issues when you ran for senate on the Communist Party ticket? What were the issues that the Communist Party used in that campaign, do you recall?

Mr. DUNN. I think it was mostly housing at that particular time. Housing and there was the return of the GI's.

Mr. POTTER. Bring the GI's home?

Mr. DUNN. Yes.

Mr. POTTER. In the course of your campaign, was there any effort to sell the people of your district that only by voting the Communist Party ticket could these things be achieved?

Mr. DUNN. No, I don't think so. I think that they just said, that is what they stood for.

Mr. POTTER. Was there much of a concerted campaign?

Mr. DUNN. As I recall, I don't think there was.

Mr. JACKSON. You didn't have as rough a campaign as Mr. Ryan did?

Mr. DUNN. Mr. Ryan had a real rough campaign. I remember that well.

Mr. JACKSON. Was this the same area and had to do with the same organization, as in the Ryan campaign?

Mr. DUNN. That is right.

Mr. POTTER. The Ryan campaign in what year? That was 2 years before.

Mr. DUNN. 1944.

Mr. POTTER. And when you ran, it was 1946.

Mr. DUNN. You see, the fourth senatorial district is within the boundaries of the Thirteenth Congressional District. That is what confuses a lot of people.

Mr. WOOD. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Dunn, you were in the Communist Party from 1941 up until 1946 or 1947. During that period of time you, of course, became acquainted with a great many persons who were members of

the Communist Party. I would like to ask you to identify additional persons, persons in addition to those you have already identified, if you can.

I think in each of the instances, I questioned you regarding Communist Party membership of persons at the time you became a member of the cell at Cadillac, and at the time you were a member of the section. But I have not asked you about a wider and broader membership in the party.

So I would like you now to give me the names of additional persons known to you to have been members of the party, that is, the Communist Party.

Mr. DUNN. Well, there is one thing that we should have perfectly clear: That the Communist Party and the Communist Political Association were two separate entities, shall I say?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. When I said "Communist Party," I meant both the Communist Party and the Communist Political Association.

Mr. DUNN. Well, I really think that is unfair because you could recruit people into the Communist Political Association that you couldn't recruit into the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of any person who was a member of the Communist Political Association, who did not affiliate himself with the Communist Party?

Mr. DUNN. I knew quite a few of them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then I think you should distinguish in identifying these persons, between those who were members of the political association, the Communist Political Association, and the Communist Party.

Mr. DUNN. That is pretty much of a task. I have no list. Have you got a list of names there?

Mr. TAVENNER. I have some names I will ask you about, if you cannot name any, but I would prefer for you to endeavor to recall from your own recollection the names of any persons who were in the Communist Party or in the Communist Political Association, identifying them according to the organization to which they belonged.

Mr. DUNN. Well, Barbara Wilson was a member of the Communist Political Association.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the first name?

Mr. DUNN. Barbara.

Mr. TAVENNER. Barbara Wilson?

Mr. DUNN. Yes.

Anna Kelly, Reva Hedstone, James Anderson, Thomas Anderson, Arthur McPhaul.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Arthur McPhaul a member of the Communist Party or the Communist Political Association, or both?

Mr. DUNN. When I was associated with him, it was the Communist Political Association, I am pretty sure.

Mildred Asslin.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the last name please?

Mr. DUNN. A-s-s-l-i-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she known by the name "Midge"?

Mr. DUNN. That is correct.

Andy Lancey, Izzy Burnstein,¹ Mary Bray.

¹ Correct listing: Isadore Berenson.

Mr. TAVENNER. You referred to a person by the name of Izzy Burnstein. Are you certain that is the last name? Are you certain the last name is correct?

Mr. DUNN. That is what I always thought it was. He used to sell the Michigan Worker on the corner of Michigan and Griswold.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know how he was employed?

Mr. DUNN. I think that was his employment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he have any other employment that you know of?

Mr. DUNN. Not that I know of.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you familiar with the name Berenson, B-e-r-e-n-s-o-n?

Mr. DUNN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Proceed.

Mr. DUNN. Carl Turner, Felix Miller, Tim Shay, Katherine Rypkin [Ripken].

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the last name?

Mr. DUNN. R-y-p-k-i-n. Betty Ireland. I just can't think of these names.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Pat Toohey?

Mr. DUNN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. DUNN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did he hold in the Communist Party?

Mr. DUNN. He was the organizer in this district.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Ann Beiswenger?

Mr. DUNN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DUNN. Well, I assume she was. She used to come to party functions and I assume she was. I never saw her card or anything like that.

Mr. TAVENNER. The party functions to which you refer, were they closed meetings of the Communist Party?

Mr. DUNN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Meetings at which non-Communists were not entitled to attend?

Mr. DUNN. Well, the only thing is, maybe a new recruit would be brought in and signed up there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with her husband, Hugo Beiswenger?

Mr. DUNN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. DUNN. I assume so. Well, I know he was, because he ran on the State ticket. I think he ran for State senator when I ran—no, he ran for United States Senator when I ran for State senator.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it for the Senate, in your opinion; the United States Senate?

Mr. DUNN. I am pretty sure that that is what it was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you sit in closed Communist Party meetings with him?

Mr. DUNN. I can't say that I did.

Mr. JACKSON. Did he run on the Communist ticket?

Mr. DUNN. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Has anyone except a Communist ever run on the Communist Party ticket, to the best of your knowledge?

Mr. DUNN. I don't know. That is something I am quite ignorant of.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Nat Ganley?

Mr. DUNN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DUNN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he hold any office in the party?

Mr. DUNN. Well, he probably did, but I couldn't tell you offhand what that office was. I knew he was a functionary in the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Nelson Davis?

Mr. DUNN. I met Nelson Davis about twice, and he was a member of the Communist Political Association at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with John Gallo?

Mr. DUNN. I met him once, I think.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Mr. DUNN. I think it was in the West Side section, section No. 2, just prior to the time that the Ford sections split away—

Mr. TAVENNER. When you speak of "section," you mean of the Communist Party?

Mr. DUNN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. According to my recollection of your testimony, that was prior to the formation of the Communist Political Association?

Mr. DUNN. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Elinor Laffery Cook?

Mr. DUNN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she a person known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DUNN. I am pretty sure at the time I knew her, she was a member of the Communist Political Association.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall what club she was a member of?

Mr. DUNN. The Midtown Club.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with her husband, Maurice Cook?

Mr. DUNN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of the party, to your knowledge?

Mr. DUNN. He was a member of the Communist Political Association, in the same club.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Irving Riskin?

Mr. DUNN. Very slightly.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a person known to you to be a member of the Communist Party or the Communist Political Association?

Mr. DUNN. I am pretty sure he was a member of the association.

Mr. MOULDER. Was that the time the party was operating as a political association instead of under the name of Communist Party?

Mr. TAVENNER. That is correct.

Mr. DUNN. The party was not operating at that time.

Mr. MOULDER. It was not operating under the name of the Communist Party, but it was still operating under the name of the Communist Political Association; isn't that the way I understand it?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. It was the same thing, was it not? The same people belonged.

Mr. DUNN. No; not necessarily.

Mr. MOULDER. Those who were members of the Communist Party transferred their association and activity to the Communist Political Association and operated under that name instead of the Communist Party; is that the way I understand it?

Mr. DUNN. The Communist Political Association was a big association. There were a lot of people in it. All they had to do was pay 50 cents and become a member. That's a different thing than joining the Communist Party.

Mr. JACKSON. In that connection, as far as the basic doctrines of the party were concerned, with perhaps the single exception of the difference at that time, as between the line that Browder was following and the line being followed internationally, the basic teachings of the party and of the political association were still founded upon Marx and Engels, were they not?

Mr. DUNN. Marx and Lenin, you mean.

Mr. JACKSON. Marx and Lenin.

Mr. DUNN. There was very little teaching that went on.

Mr. JACKSON. What teaching there was, what precepts were laid down in instruction, were still based upon the works of the prophets, so to speak?

Mr. DUNN. I disagree with you there. During the period of the association——

Mr. JACKSON. Yes; during the period of the political association the manifesto, for instance, was no longer considered a basic doctrine for members of the political association.

Mr. DUNN. Well, I can't recall anybody actually saying that, but I know the party members even quit calling themselves "comrades" and used to say "ladies and gentlemen" at the meetings, and "Mr. Chairman," and stuff like that.

Mr. JACKSON. It made it a lot less conspiratorial. I will not interrupt counsel any further.

Mr. WOOD. Counsel may proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Joe Bernstein?

Mr. DUNN. I think I saw him a few times.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Mr. DUNN. At the Communist Party headquarters.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what position he held in the Communist Party, if any?

Mr. DUNN. I think he was the dues secretary.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that the same person who appeared on the witness stand this morning?

Mr. DUNN. I am almost sure it is.

Mr. TAVENNER. You saw the person who answered to the name of Joe Bernstein; did you not?

Mr. DUNN. Yes; but I mean this is a long time ago that I saw this man. I know I have changed quite a bit in that period and other people could change, too.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there any doubt in your mind that it is the same person? That is what I am trying to determine.

Mr. DUNN. There could be a doubt in my mind.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there a doubt?

Mr. DUNN. Yes; there is a doubt in my mind.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know how the Joe Bernstein that you knew was employed at the time that you are speaking of, when he was the dues secretary of the Communist Party?

Mr. DUNN. No; as I said, I only met him—I only met this man twice.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you acquire knowledge at this time of the nature of his employment?

Mr. DUNN. This man was the dues secretary of the party and that's all I knew about him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Tom X. Dombrowski?

Mr. DUNN. I met him a few times; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Mr. DUNN. At party functions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Fred Williams?

Mr. DUNN. I met him a few times, too.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Mr. DUNN. Well, I met Williams mostly in relation to the labor movement. Maybe a caucus would be called and a group of labor leaders would meet and discuss the problems. That's how I met Williams. I understand he was a business agent of some East Side local at the time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever meet him in connection with any Communist Party matters?

Mr. DUNN. No; I don't think I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe that is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Dunn, it has always been the policy of this committee to appreciate the full cooperation of witnesses and their testimony, when they come in good faith before the committee and reveal all they know about communism and its organizations in this country.

A moment ago you mentioned a difference between the Political Action Committee—is that the name of it?

Mr. DUNN. The Communist Political Association.

Mr. MOULDER. Yes. You say that there were people in that who were not members of the Communist Party. You mean, they were not card-carrying members but they did attend meetings at Communist headquarters, just as those who did carry cards did, did they not?

Mr. DUNN. I don't think you have the right conception of what happened. When the party went out of existence and they created this Communist Political Association, there were no longer the branches like there were in the party. There were large clubs. The Midtown Club was a large Communist Political Association club, and its functions were completely different from the Communist Party. It was a large club, doing neighborhood work, doing political action among all kinds of people. They didn't have an independent role.

Mr. MOULDER. There is just one more comment I wish to make in connection with your testimony.

I was interested in and deeply impressed with your statement on your campaign for election to senator, when you observed that ap-

parently, in your opinion, the Communist propaganda and efforts to interest the Negro people in the Communist Party was not very effective.

Mr. DUNN. That is what I gathered; yes.

Mr. MOULDER. Previous investigations and hearings conducted on the part of this committee have revealed, and I believe I am right—if not, the members of the committee can correct me—that a lesser number of Negro people in proportion to population have been misled into the Communist Party movement than any other people. That this great people who have contributed so much to our higher standard of living have not fallen for the propaganda promulgated by the Communist Party leaders. In fact, I think the records of this committee reveal that, in many instances, Communist agitators planned and promoted to incite riots and violence among the Negro people to make it appear that they were being discriminated against, when the evidence and records of this committee show that the Communists themselves incited such violence and riots so as to try to impress the Negro people with the fact that they were being discriminated against and that they should become members of the Communist movement, all of which, according to the records of this committee, has failed. I was impressed very much by your personal experience and observation in connection with that point.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, with still further reference to the Communist Political Association.

Is it not true, Mr. Dunn, that while the outward scenic effect of the changeover from the Communist Party to the Communist Political Association might have been all right as window dressing, that the Marcantonio's and Hisses and Chambers' and the rest of the espionage courier system was not in the slightest degree influenced by the window dressing? They went on about the basic task and the end goals of the Communist Party, as they always operated.

Mr. DUNN. Well, I can just tell you what I saw with my own eyes.

Mr. JACKSON. I don't think the idea should get abroad that this was just one great big social affair, the Communist Political Association, because very frankly, it is the first time the distinction has been made since I have been on the committee.

A member of the Communist Political Association who takes the witness stand and refuses to answer is just as vehement in his denials if he makes denials, and he is just as abusive toward the committee and toward the American Congress, as a member of the Communist Party.

That distinction does not appear to be made in the mind of the witnesses themselves. I was rather interested in the fact that it was made today.

Mr. DUNN. Mr. Chairman, do you mind if I bring one point out in connection with this?

Mr. WOOD. Please, Mr. Dunn.

Mr. DUNN. In the Communist Political Association, it was a well-known fact that a club might get 10 new members, say today, and 2 or 3 days later they would quit and then they would rejoin again and quit. This went on all during the period of its existence.

Mr. JACKSON. Were meetings of the Communist Political Association open to nonmembers of the group?

Mr. DUNN. Yes; at almost every meeting it was open to nonmembers.

Mr. JACKSON. Just like neighborhood meetings, and anyone who wanted to go in could take part in the discussion?

Mr. DUNN. Usually, the Communist Political Association used to hold the meetings in order to attract new members, by inviting people to the meetings to try to sell them what they were trying to do.

Mr. JACKSON. What about the closed meetings? There were, of course, closed meetings to which admission was only by membership in the Communist Political Association.

Mr. DUNN. Unless these closed meetings would be the hierarchy of the association, where they would have meetings that would be closed to discuss policy or something like that—

Mr. JACKSON. Out of your experience in the Communist Party, would you say—now, of course, you are on the other side of the fence engaged in law and order—would you say it is a fair statement to say that the Communist Party is a rigid, monolithic structure in which no deviation is possible from the directives which are received from higher echelons, for the individual.

Mr. DUNN. Well, from what has happened recently, I have come to the conclusion that it is.

Mr. JACKSON. Would you say that the average members of the Communist Party or any member of the Communist Party has any freedom of speech? Now, there are two kinds of freedom of speech. One is to agree—that is, freedom to agree—and on the other hand, there is the other freedom of speech where you are free to disagree and debate and challenge.

Does freedom of speech, as we know it under the Constitution, and freedom of speech frequently indulged in before the committee, and rightfully so; does that exist in the Communist Party?

Mr. DUNN. Well, I have never seen an instance yet when a party member did not have the right to say his piece, but after he said it and they take a vote on whatever particular questions have been under discussion, he has not the right to keep his opinion. That is democratic centralism, as they call it. He has to go along with it, whether he agrees or not.

Mr. JACKSON. Is it a fair statement to make, and it certainly has been made a great many times before the committee in testimony, that there is every reason to believe that the actions of the Communist Party in the United States, and the actions of the individual members of the Communist Party of the United States, are directed, not from within this country, but from abroad?

Mr. DUNN. Well, I couldn't answer that question, because I was never in the party when any of that direction would be necessary.

Mr. JACKSON. You were in the party at the time of the Duclos letters?

Mr. DUNN. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Would you say the Duclos letters originated from outside the country and made a basic doctrine for American Communists?

Mr. DUNN. Well, the suggestion came from France, but I couldn't at all say that I believe it was a directive.

Mr. JACKSON. Well, I don't believe Mr. Duclos wrote it either, but the fact was that it originated from outside the country and that most of the directives—I do not ask you to concur in this or not to concur—practically all, if not all, the basic directives of the Communist Party originated with a foreign power, and were handed down through the various echelons and commands of the Communist Party, and every Communist is expected to abide by the decisions, which are thus handed down.

Mr. DUNN. Well, what I am trying to say is this: That I have never seen anything concrete along that line.

Mr. JACKSON. I don't imagine you would, probably in the normal course of events. At least we have had very few witnesses who have actually seen any of the directives they have carried out. I think that is characteristic of the operation.

I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POTTER. No questions.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman, further commenting on the subject that I mentioned a moment ago, that is, about the American Negro, who has, in my opinion, contributed so much to our progress and our higher standard in living in this country in many fields, according to my memory, since I have been a member of this committee, I have never known a Negro being called before the committee who has failed to fully cooperate or who has refused to answer questions on the protection or on the ground that his constitutional rights were being violated, and that it might tend to incriminate him in something.

Do you have any other information concerning the efforts on the part of the Communist organizations, of which you have knowledge, of their concentrating their work on trying to deceive and mislead the colored people into the Communist movement?

Mr. DUNN. Well, I have not belonged to the party for—

Mr. MOULDER. At the time you did belong, Mr. Dunn.

Mr. DUNN. No, I couldn't contribute anything on that.

Mr. MOULDER. Then you have no knowledge of their efforts along that line?

Mr. DUNN. No.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman, that is all I have.

Mr. WOOD. Are there any further questions, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to point out to the witness one matter which he may have knowledge of.

In referring to the attitude of the Communist Political Association as distinguished from that of the Communist Party, is it not true that during the period of about a year while the Communist Political Association was in existence, that it was under the leadership of Earl Browder, and that the only really basic distinction in theory was, that Earl Browder and the political association took the view that communism and capitalism could exist together, but that the real basis for the Duclos letter was that the Communist Party was degrading in this country, and that it should revert to its old, and we might say revolutionary, principles.

Mr. DUNN. Well, I would like to tell you an incident where Earl Browder came to Detroit, and I think it was the Midtown or Downtown Club held a cabaret party for him. He spoke at the cabaret party.

The Communist Political Association named the club and invited the public. There were probably 500 or 600 people at that cabaret. The Communist Party would never do a thing like that.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Communist Party has open meetings to which the public is invited and at which the leaders among the party are frequently speakers.

We have had testimony here and my recollection is that Mr. O'Hair, who testified yesterday, was recruited into the Communist Party and not the Communist Political Association, but the Communist Party, as the result of a public rally that was held here in the city of Detroit. I believe Earl Browder himself was the speaker at that very occasion.

Mr. DUNN. I recall that meeting at the Graystone Ballroom. I think it was the Communist Political Association. I think Mr. O'Hair was in error.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. O'Hair has testified at great detail as to the period in which he joined the party, namely, 1943. The Communist Political Association did not come into being until well into 1944 and disbanded in October 1945.

Mr. DUNN. Well, I am probably wrong then. I got my dates mixed up.

Mr. TAVENNER. My recollection from reading the testimony of Toby Baldwin, which was taken in Washington just within the past few weeks, was that she, too, was recruited into the Communist Party as the result of just such a meeting, or possibly it was the same meeting when Mr. O'Hair was brought into the party in 1943. There was not the distinction, it would appear, which you have made in regard to the two organizations. I believe that is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. The witness is excused. May we express our appreciation for coming here, and you may be excused.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee will call as its next witness, Mr. Rafael Haskell.

TESTIMONY OF RAFAEL HASKELL, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, C. LeBRON SIMMONS

Mr. WOOD. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn, please?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HASKELL. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Are you represented here by counsel?

Mr. HASKELL. I am.

Mr. WOOD. Will counsel please identify himself for the record, including his business address.

Mr. SIMMONS. My name is C. LeBron Simmons, 565 Gratiot Avenue.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Haskell, you are at liberty to confer as often as you may desire in the course of your testimony and get such information and advice as you may wish. Counsel is at liberty to so advise you, if he thinks it is proper.

Mr. HASKELL. Mr. Chairman, I have a statement I would like to read into the record.

Mr. WOOD. Just file it with the clerk.

Mr. HASKELL. I would like to read it into the record and state the reason why.

Mr. WOOD. This committee does not have statements read. I thought I made that perfectly clear. If you desire to file your statement, we will be glad to consider it.

Mr. HASKELL. I would like to file it, but I would like to state the reason why I would like to read it.

Mr. WOOD. Hand it to the reporter.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you please state your full name?

Mr. HASKELL. Rafael W. Haskell.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Haskell?

Mr. HASKELL. I was born in New York City in 1915.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Detroit?

Mr. HASKELL. Approximately, I believe, it is around 15 years, more or less.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state to the committee, please, what your educational training has been.

Mr. HASKELL. Elementary school, secondary school, and the university.

Mr. TAVENNER. What university?

Mr. HASKELL. I went to the University of Michigan.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you outline briefly, for the committee what your record of employment has been in the past 10 years?

Mr. HASKELL. Since leaving the University of Michigan, I have been a factory worker employed in different factories.

Mr. TAVENNER. Beginning approximately what date?

Mr. HASKELL. I would say around approximately 1939. I don't remember the exact date. I might be off.

Mr. WOOD. When did you leave the University of Michigan?

Mr. HASKELL. That is what I am trying to think of, the exact date. I believe it was 1939 that I left.

Mr. TAVENNER. What date did you give?

Mr. HASKELL. About 1939, as I recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to the completion of your educational training, were you a member of the Young Communist League? Let me state this, before you answer the question: The committee is informed that the Detroit Free Press in an article dated October 1937 reported you as having been a member of the Young Communist League. Were you a member of the Young Communist League at any time, prior to your graduation or since?

Mr. HASKELL. I am not going to answer that question, basing myself on the privileges granted me under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have stated that you have accepted various employment since leaving school, and I did not follow through on that. Will you state what employment you had?

Mr. HASKELL. I have stated that they were factory jobs.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Mr. HASKELL. In Detroit and elsewhere—no, let me think back—they were in Detroit proper.

Mr. TAVENNER. With what factories?

Mr. HASKELL. I was employed for a while with the Chicago Pneumatic Tool Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. During what period of time?

Mr. HASKELL. I don't remember the exact date?

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the dates, approximately?

Mr. HASKELL. I would say from around 1939 to around 1949, about.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to 1939, how were you employed?

Mr. HASKELL. I was unemployed when I got the job with the Chicago Pneumatic.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your employment prior to 1939?

Mr. HASKELL. I said I was unemployed at the time.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understood exactly what you said. Prior to the employment which you obtained in 1939, what was your employment?

Mr. HASKELL. I don't recollect any job I had between that day and leaving the university. I might have had some employment but I don't recollect it.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understand. After 1949, how were you employed?

Mr. HASKELL. I have already stated I worked in a factory.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you please tell us what factory?

Mr. HASKELL. I don't see the relevance of what particular plant I worked in.

Mr. WOOD. Do you have any objection to giving the information as to where you worked?

Mr. HASKELL. Most certainly, I do.

Mr. WOOD. You do?

Mr. HASKELL. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. If you feel that you will jeopardize yourself in any possible prosecution, you are at liberty to decline, if in your opinion to give the information would tend to incriminate you.

Mr. HASKELL. I have every objection to giving it because of what has been done around this committee. Every witness that has been brought here——

Mr. WOOD. The committee does not regard that as a reason.

Mr. HASKELL. Maybe the committee doesn't, but I consider my job——

Mr. WOOD. Will you answer the question?

Mr. HASKELL. What was the question?

Mr. TAVENNER. How were you employed after 1949?

Mr. HASKELL. What was the question? Will you repeat it?

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you read the question?

(The question was read by the official court reporter.)

Mr. HASKELL. You mean what was the job I held immediately on leaving the Chicago Pneumatic Tool Co.? I worked for the Gear Grind.

Mr. TAVENNER. For whom?

Mr. HASKELL. Gear Grind.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where? Here in the city of Detroit?

Mr. HASKELL. I believe it is in Detroit, it might not be.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of your employment?

Mr. HASKELL. Factory work. I ran a machine.

Mr. TAVENNER. The factory is in Detroit?

Mr. HASKELL. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where is the factory located?

Mr. HASKELL. Close to Conant.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you employed there, or have you been employed there?

Mr. HASKELL. I was employed there for about a year, I would say. I don't remember the exact time element.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you next employed? In other words, what other employment have you had since 1949?

Mr. HASKELL. I was then employed by Berry Industries. I was then employed by Dial Machine Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you had any other employment of any character since 1949?

Mr. HASKELL. I have not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you in New York City during 1937, at any time?

Mr. SIMMONS. May I ask the pertinency of that question?

Mr. TAVENNER. No.

Mr. HASKELL. In that case, I will refuse to answer on the basis of the privileges I have under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend the meeting of the Communist League, the Young Communist League, in New York City, in May of 1937?

Mr. HASKELL. I will decline to answer that question on the basis of the privileges I have under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HASKELL. I will decline to answer that question on the basis of the privileges I have under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you issued a Communist Party card in 1939, bearing the number 101297?

Mr. HASKELL. I will decline to answer that question on the basis of the privileges I have under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with a board of the Communist Party known as the expulsion board? Have you ever heard of that?

Mr. HASKELL. I will decline to answer that question on the grounds already stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of such a board of the Communist Party?

Mr. HASKELL. I will decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. There has been testimony here, Mr. Haskell, that Communist Party meetings were held above the Detroit Workers' Cooperative Restaurant in Hamtramck, Mich. Have you ever attended Communist Party meetings at that place?

Mr. HASKELL. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Toby Baldwin?

Mr. HASKELL. I will decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been an instructor at the Michigan School of Social Science?

Mr. HASKELL. I decline to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Haskell, I show you a catalog of the Michigan School of Social Science for the winter term beginning January 23, and through March 31, 1950, and ask you to look at page 7, and state whether or not you find a course described there as "Principles of Maxism-Leninism II."

(Document was handed to witness.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you see it? It is on page 7.

Mr. HASKELL. Yes, I see page 7.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you see the course described there, which I mentioned?

Mr. HASKELL. Yes; I see it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you see who the instructors are? The instructors named for that course? Will you read their names, please.

Mr. HASKELL. The names I see, is one instructor, Thomas X. Dombrowski, and the second instructor is Ray Haskell.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Mr. Dombrowski?

Mr. HASKELL. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you the Ray Haskell referred to?

Mr. HASKELL. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you commonly known by the name "Ray" Haskell?

Mr. HASKELL. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the ground for your refusal to answer that question?

Mr. HASKELL. That, too, I will decline to answer on the grounds that answering it might tend to—at any rate, I will request the privileges extended me under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you return that to me, please? Will you please look again at the catalog, and this time at page number 3, and read into the record, please, the names of the directors of this school?

Mr. HASKELL. Am I supposed to just read from this?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, just exactly what is on the paper.

Mr. HASKELL. I see on page 3 in upper case, "Board of Directors. Christopher C. Alston, Nat Ganley, Dorothy Griffel, James E. Jackson, Jr., William McKie, Fred Williams, Executive Director, Ann Beiswenger, Office 2419 Grand River, Room 7, WO 5-5930," and page 3. That is all that is contained on the page.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee what you know, if anything, regarding the purposes for the foundation of this school, and how it was operated.

Mr. HASKELL. I decline to answer, basing myself on the privileges extended me under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you any knowledge of the manner in which the instructors are selected or those who receive courses are admitted to the school?

Mr. HASKELL. I decline to answer that question on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the catalog in evidence, to be marked "Haskell Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. WOOD. It will be so marked and received.

(The document referred to was marked "Haskell Exhibit No. 1" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe that is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Do any of the committee have any questions?

Mr. MOULDER. Are you now employed, Mr. Haskell?

Mr. HASKELL. I am employed at the Dial Machine Co.

Mr. MOULDER. Are you a member or affiliated with any political party?

Mr. HASKELL. I decline to answer that basing myself on the privileges I have under the fifth amendment to our Constitution.

Mr. MOULDER. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Do you have any questions, Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. None, except to say that there is nothing incriminating about having an affiliation with a political party. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter.

Mr. POTTER. Mr. Haskell, I have no questions, but your testimony here today is evidence that television of programs such as this should exist so that as many people as possible would see the hate in the eyes, the contempt on the lips, and the conspiracy in the heart of a Communist. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Counsel, do you have any further questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. No further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused from any further testimony before the committee?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. The witness is excused.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. WOOD. We will take a short recess.

(A short recess was taken).

Mr. WOOD. We will please come to order. You may proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee will call Mr. Hugo Beiswenger.

Mr. WOOD. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn, please?

Mr. BEISWENGER. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Are you represented by counsel?

TESTIMONY OF HUGO BEISWENGER, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, HAROLD NORRIS

Mr. BEISWENGER. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Counsel will please identify himself for the record and give his business address.

Mr. NORRIS. My name is Harold Norris, a member of the Michigan Bar, 963 Penobscott Building, Detroit.

Mr. WOOD. If you have not heard the announcement previously, I will tell you again, you are at liberty to confer with your counsel at any time you desire for such information and advice you deem necessary.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you please state your full name?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I have a statement I would like to read.

Mr. WOOD. You are at liberty to file any statement you have with the clerk for reference by the committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are Mr. Hugo Beiswenger.

Mr. BEISWENGER. Yes; I would like to file this statement.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Beiswenger?

Mr. Beiswenger. I was born in Jackson, Mich., January 8, 1917.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you briefly outline for the committee your education and background.

Mr. BEISWENGER. I am a graduate of Jackson High School, Jackson Junior College. I also attended some trade schools in the Army, aircraft mechanic school, aerial gunnery school, radio school, and after I got out of the Army, the Detroit Radio and Television School.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you in the armed services of the United States?

Mr. BEISWENGER. From March 1942 until September 1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you complete your college training?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I believe it was 1935 or 1936.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you live, Mr. Beiswenger?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I live at 7485 Parkland, Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Detroit?

Mr. BEISWENGER. Approximately 13 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state for the committee, please, what your employment has been while you have lived in Detroit, other than the period when you were in the Armed Forces of the United States?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question, invoking my privileges under the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does that cover the whole period of your employment over 13 years, other than the period you were in the Army? I mean, do you decline to answer anything regarding your employment at any time during the past 13 years, other than the period you were in the Army?

Mr. BEISWENGER. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, then, will you please state what your employment was during the period of time that you are willing to state it.

Mr. BEISWENGER. In these dates I mention, it will have to be approximate.

Mr. TAVENNER. That will be satisfactory.

Mr. BEISWENGER. I worked at the Acme Die Casting Co., a small auto shop in Detroit, either in 1934 or 1935, for a few months. I worked for the F. E. R. A. while going through college, to pay my tuition—

Mr. TAVENNER. You need not go back to the period of your educational training.

Mr. BEISWENGER. I worked at the Walker Michigan Co., in Jackson, Mich., in 1936 and 1937.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any other employment in 1936 and 1937?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I worked at the Hotel Hayes for a few months in 1936, as a room clerk and cashier.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does that comprise all of your employment during the years 1936 and 1937?

Mr. BEISWENGER. As far as I can recall; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you proceed.

Mr. BEISWENGER. I was employed, if you want to call it that, by the National Youth Administration, in 1938, doing library work. I entered the Army, as I said before, in 1942.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were you employed between 1938 and 1942, when you went into the Army?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question, invoking my privileges under the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the date of your discharge from the Army?

Mr. BEISWENGER. It was September 1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you return immediately to Detroit?

Mr. BEISWENGER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What business did you engage in on your return?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I took a course at the Detroit Radio and Television School under the GI bill of rights, shortly after my return from the Army.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then what was your first employment after that?

Mr. BEISWENGER. At the Detrola Radio Corp., where I went to work in February 1946, and where I worked until August, I believe, 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. That employment was followed by what employment?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question, invoking my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. That begins in 1946, in August 1946. Now, what employment did you next have which you are willing to state that you engaged in?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I don't recall. Well, I did some radio repair work at home at various times, I believe in the year 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that the only employment you have had since August 1946, which you are willing to tell us about?

Mr. BEISWENGER. As far as I am able to recall; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now employed?

Mr. BEISWENGER. Before the current witch hunt and hysteria began, I was employed, but I was fired from my job. I am now looking for a job.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you employed?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question, based on the same reasons as previously given.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you live in 1951? Have you lived at the same place all the time since you have been in Detroit?

Mr. BEISWENGER. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. You did not tell us where you lived.

Mr. BEISWENGER. I live at my present address—I have lived there for, I believe, 2 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. That address is what?

Mr. BEISWENGER. 7485 Parkland.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your phone number?

Mr. BEISWENGER. Logan 3-7716.

Mr. TAVENNER. Your wife's name is Ann?

Mr. BEISWENGER. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee has information that you sought employment with General Motors Corp. under the name of Henry James Braun; is that correct?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question, invoking the same privileges as before.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you what purports to be the original of an application for employment with General Motors, bearing date of August 8, 1951. Do you recall having executed such an application?

(The document above mentioned was handed to the witness.)

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer the question for the previously stated reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine the application, which I have handed you and state whether or not it is in the name of Henry James Braun. I think the name appears on the first line. Henry James B-r-a-u-n.

Mr. BEISWENGER. I read a document which purports to be an application for employment to the Detroit transmission division of General Motors Corp., and it has a name on it, Henry James Braun.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is the name of the wife of the person mentioned listed on the application, and if so, will you give the first name, please.

Mr. BEISWENGER. The name which appears on the application is Mrs. Anne Braun.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state what address is given.

Mr. BEISWENGER. 7485 Parkland.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that your address?

Mr. BEISWENGER. This document has the address, 7485 Parkland. I previously answered the question that my address is 7485 Parkland.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did anybody by the name of Henry James Braun live in your apartment with you?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question, invoking the same privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. What phone number is given in the application?

Mr. BEISWENGER. Logan 3-7716.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is the same phone number at your apartment.

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated reasons.

Mr. WOOD. Hasn't the witness already given that?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. What is your social-security number?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I will have to get it out. I have it with me. 367-07-2040.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you any other social-security number?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you let me examine the security card which you just read from?

Mr. BEISWENGER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have an additional social-security card besides this one?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question on the same basis as previously given.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with the person by the name of Robert Montgomery?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does the name Robert Montgomery appear on the application as a reference made by the person who signed that application?

Mr. BEISWENGER. This document which purports to be the application has written on it the name Robert Montgomery.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever give Robert Montgomery as a reference in an application to obtain any position?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you ever employed by the Erie Equipment Co.?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer the question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did the applicant in the application before you give the Erie Equipment Co. as a place of prior employment?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you seek employment by executing that application in the name of Henry James Braun?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the signature of Henry James Braun signed by you?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Beiswenger, I hand you a catalogue of the Michigan School of Social Science for the fall and winter term—the fall term of 1949 and winter term of 1950—which has already been introduced in evidence, and I will ask you to examine it. I believe it has been marked “Haskell exhibit No. 1.” Will you turn, please, to the list of subjects taught, on page 9, I believe? There, do you see a course entitled “Dialectic Materialism II?”

Mr. BEISWENGER. Is that a question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. BEISWENGER. I read a line of printing in this document which purports to be the catalog of the Michigan School of Social Science, a line which reads “Dialectic Materialism II.”

Mr. TAVENNER. The subject, Dialectic Materialism, is a very deep subject, is it not?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever made a study of dialectic materialism?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment and on the grounds of the first amendment, that anything I study I have a right to do, which is guaranteed me by the first amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am anxious to know—first, I should ask you to read the name of the instructor in that subject of dialectic materialism at the school mentioned, the Michigan School of Social Science.

Mr. BEISWENGER. This line of printing reads: “Instructor, Hugo Beiswenger.”

Mr. TAVENNER. What year was that and was it for the fall term or was it for the winter term?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you conduct the course mentioned there?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee is anxious to learn, Mr. Beiswenger, how the instructors in that school were selected and how the school was financed, and what supervision was given and by whom of the selection of the students. Will you tell the committee anything that you know about those matters?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Beiswenger, I exhibit to you now a photostatic reproduction of a letter dated October 27, 1939, addressed to, and I quote, "To every member of the Communist Party of Michigan." Will you examine it, please? Do you know the circumstances under which that letter was prepared and circulated?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you hand me the document? I offer the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Beiswenger Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. WOOD. It will be so marked and received.

(The document referred to was marked "Beiswenger Exhibit No. 1.")

Mr. TAVENNER. This exhibit bears the date of October 27, 1939, Detroit, Mich. It begins: "Dear Comrade:" The first sentence reads: "Comrade Browder issued a warning to the country and to the members of the Communist Party when he said—" and so on. The letter closes with the words, "Comrades on the job, comradely yours." Will you read, please, the names of those who purportedly signed or authorized the signing of that letter?

Mr. BEISWENGER. In this purported letter, photostated, I read the following names: J. Kowalski, finance director; Robert Reid, organizer, section 2; Richard McMahon, organizer, section 3; George Kristalsky, organizer, section 4; Hugo Beiswenger, organizer, section 5; Rifka Lee, organizer, section 6; Francis Walker, organizer, Flint; Elmer Johnson, state secretary; William Allan, legislative secretary; Beatrice Shields, educational; B. E. Gebert, member of national committee; E. Fay, membership director; Merrill Work, State committee."

Mr. TAVENNER. One of the names you read is B. E. Gebert, member of the national committee. Do you know where B. E. Gebert lived at the time of the writing of this letter, October 27, 1939?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he is the same person who is now in charge of some phase of labor work with the Polish government in Europe?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer the question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you personally acquainted with Mr. Gebert?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer the question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. This letter, which is an appeal for raising funds by the Communist Party of the State of Michigan, would you say is an authentic reproduction of the original letter which was mailed to the Communist Party members in 1939? Can you identify it as such?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. At this time in 1939, October 1939, did you reside in Detroit or in Jackson, Mich.?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I really do not recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Beiswenger, I show you a leaflet issued by the Michigan State Central Committee of the Communist Party. 902

Lawyers Building, Detroit 26, Mich, and ask you if it is a leaflet issued by the organization listed?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. The leaflet there has on the left of the leaflet a photograph of an individual with a caption, "Hugo Beiswenger for United States Senator." Is that your photograph?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I see a photograph here which has a name under it, "Hugo Beiswenger for United States Senator."

Mr. TAVENNER. Does it have a resemblance to yourself?

Mr. BEISWENGER. That might be a question for debate.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your best judgment about it?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then you would not risk the doubt. Were you a candidate for the United States Senate in that year, the year 1946?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WOOD. Do you mean to say that you think it would be incriminating to run for the United States Senate?

Mr. BEISWENGER. Well, I wouldn't answer that at this time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become a candidate for Congress from the Thirtieth District in 1940?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Beiswenger, you recognize, of course, that you are under oath. When you say that you refuse to answer a question because it will tend to incriminate you, it would do just that, or else your testimony is not true. Now, do you mean to leave this committee under the inference, in your opinion that it will tend to incriminate a man to be a candidate for the Congress of the United States?

Mr. BEISWENGER. Mr. Chairman, the words "incriminate" are your words, not mine. I did not use them.

Mr. WOOD. Is that what you are claiming, that it would tend to incriminate you if you answered under the fifth amendment or the previously stated grounds? What are your grounds?

Mr. BEISWENGER. Mr. Chairman, my statement was that I decline to answer the question, invoking my privileges under the fifth amendment of the Constitution, which I understand is all that is legally required that I say.

Mr. WOOD. Just what provision in the fifth amendment is it that you invoke?

Mr. BEISWENGER. As I understand the fifth amendment, it protects the citizens of this country against being forced to testify against themselves.

Mr. WOOD. In matters tending to incriminate.

Mr. BEISWENGER. I do not know whether or not these words are in the amendment or not. I am not a lawyer.

Mr. WOOD. Seek the advice of your counsel and see if he will not tell you that that is what it is.

Mr. BEISWENGER. I have consulted with counsel on that matter, and my answer is that I do have reason to fear Federal prosecution under the present witch-hunting hysteria and thought-control laws which

exist, and for that reason I decline to answer the question, because I am in jeopardy of Federal prosecution.

Mr. WOOD. Let me see if I get you straight. You contend now, leaving that your answer to the question, that you feel that a truthful answer, whether or not you are a candidate for Congress, might lead conceivably to a criminal prosecution against you.

Mr. BEISWENGER. Mr. Chairman, I said nothing about a truthful answer. I decline to answer the question, relying upon my privilege under the fifth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Beiswenger, the committee is in possession of information indicating that you were editor of a newspaper called the Michigan Herald, that you were the president of the corporation which published it and a member of the editorial board: is that correct?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time either alone or in company of another person advise a member of the Communist Party that he would be disciplined by the party or possibly expelled if certain actions were not taken by him?

Mr. BEISWENGER. The question is so vague that I have no way of identifying what is referred to.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall any occasion in which you advised a Communist Party member that he might be answerable to higher authority in the Communist Party or that he would answer before a board of the Communist Party?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. A moment ago, you said the question was indefinite, and you indicated you did not understand it. Are you referring to that, namely, that I did not make the question plain enough, or are you basing your refusal to answer on some other grounds?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I am basing my refusal to answer under the privileges I have under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. Nothing further, Mr. Chairman, except to say, Mr. Beiswenger, you have referred several times to witch hunting and so forth. There might not be so many witch hunts if a lot of you people would not leave your brooms lying around. The committee has found 87 Communist branches in the city of Detroit, while after 4 years in Los Angeles it did not uncover more than 8 or 10. I think the people of this country can well be concerned about the situation in Detroit and about the activities of people like yourself. I have nothing further, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POTTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Are there any further questions of counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe there is a question I failed to ask him. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. NORRIS. May I ask the witness—

Mr. TAVENNER. One further question, Mr. Chairman. Were you in England during the period of your service during the world war?

Mr. BEISWENGER. Yes, I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you located in London?

Mr. BEISWENGER. No, I was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you in London at any time?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you mean to take the position with this committee that your presence in London might tend to incriminate you in a court of the United States?

Mr. BEISWENGER. In this witch-hunting atmosphere, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, let me ask you this question: Did you visit the London Worker in London, while you were there?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer the question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the witness a question——

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Beiswenger, at the time you put on the uniform of the military forces of the United States and entered the Army, were you at that time a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds, and I might add, too, that I fought for my country and regardless of what my political beliefs were at the time, I served honorably in the United States Armed Forces and was decorated a number of times and was honorably discharged.

Mr. WOOD. I have no further questions. Are there any further questions by counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused from further testimony?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. The witness is excused and it is so ordered.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. WOOD. Who is your next witness?

Mr. TAVENNER. Call Mr. Edward N. Turner.

Mr. WOOD. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn, please? You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. TURNER. I do.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD N. TURNER

Mr. WOOD. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. TURNER. No; I am not.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Mr. TURNER. My name is Edward N. Turner.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Turner?

Mr. TURNER. I was born July 2, 1906, at the city of Little Rock, in the State of Arkansas.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your profession?

Mr. TURNER. I am a practicing attorney at law.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the city of Detroit?

Mr. TURNER. In the city of Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your educational preparation for your profession?

Mr. TURNER. Elementary training, high school, bachelor of arts degree from the University of Michigan, and bachelor of law degree from the Detroit College of Law.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in the city of Detroit?

Mr. TURNER. Approximately 25 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. What positions have you held in the city of Detroit, in line with your profession or any other civic or business endeavors in this community?

Mr. TURNER. Presently I am the State president of the Michigan Conference of Branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, president of the Detroit branch of the same organization, and a member of the Mayor's Interracial Committee for the City of Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Turner, this committee has endeavored to make it plain on many occasions that the mere subpoenaing of a witness before this committee carries with it no connotation of a program. You have been subpoenaed to appear here to assist the committee by giving it such information as you may be able to give it on the subject of our investigation.

However, I want to say, in the case of virtually every witness who has appeared before our committee in a matter of this kind, in order to properly apprise his testimony, I have always asked the question whether or not the witness is a member of the Communist Party, and for that reason I want to ask you the same question.

Mr. TURNER. I am not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TURNER. I have never been a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Turner, the committee, in the course of a very extensive investigation in widely separated areas of the United States, has secured evidence that the Communist Party is concentrating its effort at this time upon basic industry, and particularly upon members of minority groups who have found themselves employed in basic industries. As one of the leaders of the Negro people in this area and in the State of Michigan, I want to ask you to give to the committee the benefit of such information that you may have regarding the progress of the Communist Party and its activities among the Negro people. I wish you would advise the committee, first, as to what progress has been made by the Communist Party in its contacts and activities among the Negro people.

Mr. TURNER. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, in order to understand the communistic activity in the Detroit area, and I suspect in any given area, unless we look squarely at the conditions as they exist in that particular community for the appeals which the Communist Party or any other ideology can and are frequently based. I think you should agree that there is a wide gap between the principles of democracy and its daily practices. It is because of this wide gap that it is possible, in many instances, for the seeds of communism and other beliefs to flourish. Here in the city of Detroit, for many years, there has existed widespread job discrimination based upon

race, creed, and national origin, and the refusal to hire individuals on the basis of merit alone has caused a tendency to make a mockery of the free enterprise system.

Another area is the housing area, which is another area in which interracial misunderstanding and friction often provides and produces violence, vandalism, and bloodshed. Discrimination and segregation in public housing and those gentlemen agreements and devices that are used in the matter of private housing, all of the things that daily remind the minority groups that equal opportunity is not and has not been brought to all Americans.

Another area is the flagrant denial of service in places of public accommodation. Not in every place, but most of our restaurants, hotels, bars, and the like, do so, and that causes bitterness and a deep resentment. Particularly in that area, are these practices not only unjust and immoral but they are specifically violations of the law of the State of Michigan itself.

In addition to that, when the public officials and those who are charged with the enforcement of the law fail to enforce the law adequately, they themselves contribute, in a large measure, to the lack of confidence and the basic processes of law and order.

Likewise, we are also faced with recurrent incidences of malpractice by the police. Incidents of mistreatment of citizens oftentimes indiscriminate and illegal, searches and detentions without warrants.

Another area are the opportunities available to minority groups for equal and adequate medical and hospital services, which are far below the standards which are afforded to white citizens. Even those services are sometimes afforded only on a segregatory basis.

In our public schools, Negro teachers are still assigned primarily to those schools that are attended predominantly by Negro students. Even in our social agencies, where they seek and obtain funds from the entire community, we still find those services extended on a "Jim Crow" basis.

I would say, frankly, that this is not a pretty picture, and it certainly does not speak well for democracy. These are the unsavory parts of the American scene with which we must live daily. Mind you, they are the unfinished business—they constitute the unfinished business of democracy in this country, and they should be corrected, not just because Communists seize upon these situations to exploit them, but they should be corrected because they are morally wrong.

Of course, it would be a bit unfair not to recognize that there are important forces at work, which we know and feel and are determined will eventually correct these shortcomings, and shortcomings they are. It is in these positive, aggressive, democratic forces in which we have placed our hopes. Unfortunately for all of us, the democratic process, from its very nature, is slow and cumbersome. But these are the reasons which have afforded the Communist movement its greatest opportunities.

It is a very significant thing that they have demonstrated their willingness to seize upon these situations and to rally the minority groups to their cause under the banner of giving them civil rights and bringing them democracy.

Mr. TAVENNER. You state that the Communists have demonstrated a willingness to prey upon these matters which you have mentioned.

Well now, how have they done that and to what extent have they done that?

MR. TURNER. Your first question as to how they have done that can be very easily answered, because they have only too willingly offered to take up the cause to bring to the minority groups the democratic rights which the minority groups have long been denied.

As to the extent to which they have accomplished that purpose, I would say that they have failed in that attempt completely and utterly.

MR. TAVENNER. In other words, you state that though they have demonstrated a willingness to be of some aid, you may say, to capitalize for their own purposes upon misfortunes or difficulties or problems of other people, yet they have not, in the course of the years, in your judgment, really succeeded in accomplishing anything for these people?

MR. TURNER. I would say, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, that in spite of these enormous opportunities, the simple fact of the matter is that a very insignificant number of Negroes and possibly other minority group citizens have been attracted to the cause. The reason that they have failed to be attracted to the cause has been because of the positive forces in the community and the leadership of these forces that have been afforded to the community in the civil rights movement.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, together with many other groups that have, over many years, concerned themselves with these problems, such as the major's interracial committee, of which I am a member, the Michigan Committee on Civil Rights, the Catholic Interracial Council, the Council of Churches, the Jewish Community Council, the Urban League, the CIO, and quite a few other organizations who have demonstrated that within the democratic process itself, within the framework of the Constitution of the United States, that civil rights can and is being achieved.

I would say to you that it is because of this type of leadership that has been exercised by these various groups, over a long period of time, that the Communist activities have not been successful.

The most significant thing for you to know is that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was formed and organized in 1909, because of the realization, 42 years ago, that there was a need, a definite need, for some organization composed of Negro and white citizens working together and aimed at the achievement of America's fullest democratic potential.

I might say the interracial character of that movement and this endeavor and this association has continued to the point that it has grown to become the largest civil rights organization in the Nation and specifically here in Detroit, in the city of Detroit, the Detroit branch, I believe, has been in the forefront.

Take the Sweet case in 1926. The Detroit branch gave leadership to the community in that situation and went into the courts and achieved the recognition of the right of the individual citizen to defend his home against attack, notwithstanding his race, and his color.

I would like to point out that at about the same time, the Detroit branch in conjunction with other liberal forces in the community began its long and tedious court struggle to avoid restrictive covenants in the

private housing field, which I believe most of you know culminated in 1948, in a favorable decision in the United States Supreme Court.

Here in Michigan, we had in 1937, a strong civil rights law, the Diggs' civil rights law, which has been a weapon to fight discrimination here on the local level in places of public accommodation. I think that we can even take credit, to some extent, in the fair employment standards that have been achieved in civil service here.

We can see accomplishments as the result of pioneering efforts of the Urban League in obtaining significant employment openings for Negroes and other minority persons in the white collar employment area.

We have witnessed in the most recent years, the past 8 years, the establishment of important governmental agencies set up, within the framework of the Government itself, such as the mayor's interracial committee.

Again as a result of the leadership that has been given by these organizations, we have seen a development, a very meaningful development, of a human relations program in our public schools and even in the police department. We have been successful in aiding them to include a training program in race relations, which certainly offers a promising long-term gain for our community.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, you are stating that as a result of all these activities, there should be no appeal to the Communist Party by members of your race, on the part of members of your race; that they do not have to look to the Communist Party for any alleged improvements, but that it can be done and is being done under the guidance of leaders of all the races and creeds.

Mr. TURNER. Well, that is definitely the impression that I am trying to make clear here today, that the type of leadership that has been afforded here in the Detroit area and which is still continuing presently at this moment, because there is pending in this Federal court a case to abolish segregation in public housing, among other things. We are currently carrying on the fight to strengthen the legal machinery by which we can eliminate discrimination in public places of accommodation. We are most intensely developing a fair employment legislation campaign both on the city level and on the State level.

We have a pending measure before the Detroit Common Council, and at the same time, on the State level, we are seeking to obtain the passage of such a law on the State level.

We are attempting to develop fair practices, which we know the community needs, in medical and hospital services, and we are definitely attempting to cooperate with the police in establishing and maintaining effective machinery to insure good police practices.

These are the programs in these areas of the unfinished business of democracy, which entirely removes from this community any need for communism or any other ideology.

Mr. TAVENNER. We have, for instance, heard testimony during this hearing that the Communists in certain political campaigns were no more successful in territories in which the Negro voting population was predominant than in corresponding areas in which the white people were predominant. I am wondering if that is a fair analysis or statement of the activities or the degree of success of the Communist Party among the people of your race here.

Mr. TURNER. I would definitely answer in the affirmative, because we seek to join hands with all organizations in the community that are starting to meet these problems within the democratic process. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has joined hands with organizations of the nature and character that I have named heretofore, the coordinating council, consisting of approximately 52 important civil rights organizations.

It would seem to me that to associate or even to attempt to associate communism with the struggle for civil rights by these groups in America is definitely the most dangerous mistake that could be made.

Mr. TAVENNER. We have heard leaders among the Negro people from other sections of the country express virtually the same thoughts. That is, that their people resent the Communists' endeavoring to make it appear that they are fighting their causes, when actually what the Communist Party is doing is just the same thing that it seeks to do in every phase of society, and that is to promote it for its own purposes.

Mr. POTTER. If counsel would yield at that point, Mr. Turner, what has been the history of minority groups in Communist-dominated countries? I think that is a criterion as to the sincerity of communism. What has been the result in other countries where the Communists are in control of the government? We know that minority groups have been severely punished and exploited in many of those countries. We know that here certainly there are many errors pertaining to minority groups, that minority groups want betterment. Our life is a changing life. The Communist forces make a great play and grab hold of those issues quickly to use them to the fullest extent. They are undoubtedly sincere in their efforts at that time. But their efforts for civil rights in many areas is to use it for an issue to gain their ultimate objective, namely, gaining large groups for an effort to eventually overthrow our Government.

If I may interject at this time, I wish that the leadership of the Negro people and other minority groups who have been able to withstand this concentrated effort on the part of the Communist movement to infiltrate and penetrate their ranks—I wish to state that is probably one of the most admirable powers that any people can have.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Turner, I should like to say that one of the occasional heartening things that happens to this committee in the way of witnesses is to have one on the stand like yourself, who in very concise form ably sets forth the problem. I do not think there is anyone here who can contend that our democracy is perfect. It has its shortcomings. I think what we are trying to point out to Americans, all good Americans, of whatever race, creed, or color, is the fact that what we have, what we are attempting to build in the way of a destiny for America and for free Americans is a much finer and a much greater thing than is enjoyed anywhere else in the world. That progress, as you point out, has been extremely slow, but I think that anyone who stops to realize that within the memory of living man, slaves were sold from the auction block of this country, will realize that we are moving away from the auction block, and that the Soviet Union is moving toward it.

The latest figures on total camp population, penal camp population of the Soviet Union, is set between 3 million and perhaps as high as 15 million. Those are men and women who have lost their liberties and lost them forever.

I would certainly recommend to you, if you have not seen this, Mr. Turner, "Slave Labor in the Soviet World" published by the free trade committee of the American Federation of Labor. It should be read, I think, by every American who wants to know what goes on behind the barbed wire.

I have just one question, Mr. Chairman, if I may? You recall, before the committee came to town, Mr. Turner, there was a great hue and cry among the nonhysterical critics of this committee, that we were coming to town to divide races and creeds, labor and management. Out of your knowledge of the testimony and what you have heard, has there been anything said by a committee member or by a member of this staff, which has not been thoroughly cognizant of the rights of Negro Americans, or of a realization on our part that they are fully as important in our scheme of things as any other citizen?

Mr. TURNER. Up to this point, I have heard nothing of that nature, Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you very much, Mr. Turner.

Mr. WOOD. The committee feels a very deep appreciation for your taking your time to come here and give us your expression of your views, and the benefit of your observations in this area.

If there are no further questions by counsel, and if there is no reason why the witness should not be excused now from further attendance before this committee, with the very sincere thanks of the committee, your presence here is no longer needed.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. WOOD. The committee will recess until 10 a. m. tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 5:15 p. m., the committee was recessed to reconvene at 10 a. m., Wednesday, February 27, 1952.)

COMMUNISM IN THE DETROIT AREA—PART 1

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1952

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Detroit, Mich.

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met pursuant to call at 10:15 a. m. in room 740, Federal Building, Detroit, Mich., Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood, Donald L. Jackson, and Charles E. Potter.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., assistant counsel; John W. Carrington, clerk; and Donald T. Appell, investigator.

Mr. Wood. Let the committee be in order.

Mr. Counsel, are you ready to proceed?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

I would like to call as the first witness this morning, Rev. Charles A. Hill.

Mr. Wood. Are you Reverend Hill?

Reverend HILL. Yes.

Mr. Wood. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn, please?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Reverend HILL. Yes.

Mr. Wood. Are you represented by counsel?

TESTIMONY OF REV. CHARLES A. HILL, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, GEORGE W. CROCKETT, JR.

Reverend HILL. Yes.

Mr. Wood. Will counsel please identify himself for the record, including his business address?

Mr. CROCKETT. My name is George W. Crockett, Jr., a member of the Detroit Bar and United States Supreme Court Bar. My office is located in the Cadillac Tower in the city of Detroit.

Mr. Chairman, I have one or two preliminary matters I would like to have a ruling on by the committee. I noticed in the two preceding days of the committee's session, in the course of witnesses testifying, the wishes of the witness are completely ignored and flashlight bulbs are going on and pictures are being taken. I can understand the desire of the gentlemen of the press to get photographs and we have

no objection to that. I would like, however, that the chairman rule that during the course of any witnesses I represent, that no pictures be taken and at the conclusion of the testimony we would be glad to give the gentlemen of the press any pictures they want.

Mr. WOOD. Witnesses appearing before the committee have the right to ask that there be no photographs taken by their own request, if they so desire. Do you make that request?

Mr. CROCKETT. I make that request.

Mr. WOOD. In the absence of such request, I will not put any restrictions on them except in deference to the witness. Is it your wish that you do not wish to be photographed while on the witness stand?

Reverend HILL. I do not wish to be photographed.

Mr. WOOD. Do you make that as a request of this committee?

Reverend HILL. I certainly do.

Mr. WOOD. I shall be forced to respect that request and you gentlemen of the press are not to take photographs or pictures of any character of the witness while he is on the stand. I understand from the statement of his counsel that after he is through, you will be able to photograph him as you may desire. That is a matter over which the committee has no control. However, I will respect the wishes of the witness while he is here.

Mr. CROCKETT. My second suggestion, Mr. Wood, is that the committee note for the record the absence of one member, Congressman Moulder, from Missouri. Has that been noted on the record?

Mr. WOOD. It will be noted on the record that there is a majority of the subcommittee designated to this committee, present. I was going to call that to the attention of the record. There are present Messrs. Jackson, Potter, and Wood, who constitute three out of the four members of the subcommittee.

Mr. CROCKETT. Reverend Hill has a prepared statement that he would like to read to the committee.

I noticed yesterday when Attorney Turner appeared before the committee he was permitted to give what was to all intents and purposes a prepared statement. He testified from notes and cards. I think the chairman noticed that.

Mr. WOOD. The witness is at liberty at use any memoranda that he has to refresh his recollection, with respect to answering any questions that may be propounded to him. Any prepared statement that he desires to give to the committee, will be filed with the clerk and considered by the committee. That has been a uniform rule of this committee and it will be adhered to on this occasion.

Mr. CROCKETT. We only felt in fairness to the committee that we should read it.

Mr. WOOD. There can be no question about it because that is the rule. There can be no argument about it.

Mr. CROCKETT. I am not arguing.

Mr. WOOD. If he has a statement that he would like to submit, we will be glad to have it.

Mr. CROCKETT. I would like to make a statement for the record.

Mr. WOOD. Statements by counsel are not permitted in this committee.

Mr. CROCKETT. Counsel may not note anything on the record on behalf of his client in these hearings?

Mr. WOOD. Nothing at all. What you have suggested here with reference to the quorum of the subcommittee, I did consider out of deference and courtesy to you. I did not have to do it. I have ruled that the statement cannot be read, and that should be the end of it.

Mr. CROCKETT. In that case, we will file a statement before we release it to the press.

Mr. TAVENNER. Reverend Hill, will you state your full name?

Reverend HILL. Rev. Charles A. Hill.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Reverend HILL. Detroit, Mich., April 28, 1893.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Reverend HILL. 1660 West Grand Boulevard, Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have a charge and pastorage in the city of Detroit?

Reverend HILL. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you engaged in the work of the ministry in the city of Detroit?

Reverend HILL. Close to 35 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your formal educational training?

Reverend HILL. Public schools of Detroit; Cleary Business College, Ypsilanti; Lincoln University, Pennsylvania.

Mr. TAVENNER. Reverend Hill, the committee has, from time to time, in all of its investigations subpoenaed witnesses before it, both Communists and non-Communists, where that subject has been under investigation, for the purpose of obtaining such information as it was interested in and which dealt on the subject of its inquiry.

Now, in subpoenaing you here, I want to make it plain that the committee has not subpoenaed you with any preconceived idea that you are a member of the Communist Party. As I have asked other witnesses who have appeared here and in other hearings on the subject of communism regarding membership, I want to also ask you that question.

Mr. CROCKETT. Mr. Chairman——

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CROCKETT. May I inquire, Mr. Chairman——

Mr. WOOD. Let us get this clear right now. You are at liberty to confer with your client as often as you see fit and give him such advice and counsel as you may think he is in need of, or he may request advice from you, and that is as far as counsel is permitted to go in this committee.

Please confine yourself to that.

Mr. CROCKETT. I am simply asking for a ruling from the committee on the materiality of the question put by committee counsel.

Mr. WOOD. In view of my ruling, I decline to make any further ruling. I will ask you please, to comply with the ruling.

Mr. CROCKETT. Then I take it the committee rules the question is material.

Mr. WOOD. The committee rules that you can confer with your client, if you want to.

Mr. CROCKETT. Do I understand the committee rules the question to be material?

Mr. WOOD. The committee rules the question material, if it is asked.

Mr. CROCKETT. Then any question asked, it is assumed then that the committee rules it is material?

Mr. WOOD. Otherwise it would not be asked.

Mr. CROCKETT. Very well.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you answer the question, please?

Reverend HILL. What is the question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you [addressing court reporter] read him the question?

(The question was read by the court reporter.)

Mr. CROCKETT. My advice to you—

Mr. WOOD. Counsel, give him your advice in private, please.

Mr. CROCKETT. He has no objection to my stating them out loud.

Mr. WOOD. We do.

Mr. CROCKETT. Does the committee have serious objection to it?

Mr. WOOD. We have serious objection to your making a speech. You can give him your advice.

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I decline to answer the question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am rather disappointed that that is your position. It was my purpose—

Mr. CROCKETT. Just one minute. Do I understand speeches by counsel are to be prohibited?

Mr. WOOD. One more address from you to this committee will result in your expulsion from this committee room. Any advice you want to give your client, you can give to him. This committee will not have its rules constantly violated in this flagrant manner, as you are undertaking to do.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee, during the course of its investigation, has received information which would tend to show considerable activity, on your part, and affiliation with the organizations which are commonly referred to as Communist-front organizations. That does not necessarily mean that the person who is engaged in that kind of activity is actually a member of the Communist Party, but due to the information that the committee has received about your affiliation with such organizations and some of your conduct with regard to them, it was felt important that we question you regarding them with the idea in mind of developing to what extent, if any, the Communist Party may have been endeavoring to use you in these organizations and what connection, if any, the Communist Party may have had with them.

It was in the light of that problem that I had proposed to interrogate you and I had hoped that you would cooperate with the committee, in giving it the benefit of all the knowledge and information you had with regard to those matters.

Reverend HILL. May I say, counsel, this (indicating) is my only guide to all my activities—the Bible. I let God lead me wherever there is discrimination or segregation or injustice of anybody, of any kind. I ask nobody their religious or political beliefs. I go in there to make this democracy, which I believe in, a reality to every individual whether he is black or white.

I believe in complete equality, whether social or otherwise. When I talk to some of my boys of my congregation or others who say for the first time they have felt like men, when we stood on the foreign field where color had nothing to do with it, it makes my heart bleed. I will continue to work to eliminate from our society those things that are inconsistent with the teachings of Christ and our democracy.

MR. TAVENNER. Of course, we find no fault with that. What I asked your cooperation in, was to tell this committee all that you know about the activities of the Communist Party, with regard to the various projects which you have worked on and the various activities which we will call to your attention. That was the extent and purpose of my calling you here as a witness.

Reverend HILL. May I say, that the Communist Party has had nothing to do with any of my activities.

MR. TAVENNER. Well, let us inquire into that.

Reverend HILL. I wonder if I might add concerning the list, that I am not willing to be governed by any list where individuals or organizations have not had an opportunity to prove or disprove their loyalty to the Government. I think any one individual, particularly with corruption in our present Justice Department, should have the right to say to organizations which over 90 percent of them are fighting to make our democracy an ideal—

MR. TAVENNER. Reverend Hill, I am not asking you to pass upon or to announce your judgment with regard to these organizations.

Reverend HILL. I just wanted it cleared, Mr. Council.

MR. TAVENNER. Reverend Hill, the committee has information that there was a banquet given honoring Abner Berry and James Jackson. Abner Berry was the outgoing educational director of district No. 7 of the Communist Party, and James Jackson was the incoming educational director of the Communist Party.

I have before me the program, the printed program. I hand it to you and ask you if you will identify it.

(Whereupon, Mr. Crockett attempted to take the exhibit.)

MR. WOOD. Mr. Crockett, I will not admonish you again. This is an orderly proceeding, sir, and if you cannot respect it, you will have no voice here at all.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you examine the program, please, and see if you can identify it as a testimonial, a program of a testimonial banquet?

Reverend HILL. I refuse to answer on the advice of counsel under the fifth amendment.

MR. TAVENNER. On what grounds?

Reverend HILL. According to counsel, I am not required to state any grounds except what I have already stated.

MR. JACKSON. Do you refuse to look at the program, Reverend Hill?

Reverend HILL. I am looking at it.

MR. JACKSON. You are looking at it?

Reverend HILL. Oh, yes.

MR. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the program in evidence and ask that it be marked "Exhibit No. 1—Hill Exhibit No. 1."

MR. WOOD. It will be so marked and received.

(The document referred to was marked "Hill Exhibit No. 1" and received in evidence.)

MR. TAVENNER. I notice that one of the sponsors of the testimonial committee, as it appears printed on the back, is "Rev. Charles A. Hill." Were you one of the sponsors of that banquet?

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I refuse to answer under the fifth amendment.

MR. TAVENNER. Do you not think that any person who sponsored a banquet in honor of the incoming and outgoing educational directors

of the Communist Party for the State of Michigan, would be lending their support and lending their influence in the community to the advancement of the interests of the Communist Party?

Reverend HILL. For the same reasons I have given, I refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would it not be inconsistent with the statement you made here a few moments ago, that you were interested only in advocating the matters appearing in the Bible, which you held out, if you were in fact sponsoring meetings of the Communist Party, honoring its State-wide officials? Do you not think that would be inconsistent with your statement as to what your only purpose has been?

Reverend HILL. No; I do not; when I attend banquets, and so forth, I honor individuals for the objectives or motives, and I may know nothing about them or the organizations behind them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let us see whether or not you knew anything about these individuals.

It is printed in the program of the testimonial banquet, under the name of James E. Jackson, the following:

Graduate, Virginia Union and Howard University. Active in the Scottsboro defense. Leader student activity, Howard. One of the founders and former president of the Southern Negro Youth Congress. Veteran of 3 years overseas service in India and Burma. Chairman, Communist Party in Louisiana, 1946. Now member State committee of Michigan Communist Party.

Did that not give you full knowledge of the official position which he held at the time that you are alleged to have sponsored this banquet honoring him?

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Appearing under the name Abner W. Berry, appears this information printed in the program:

Active for 18 years in labor movement. Was secretary of regional Communist organization embracing Texas, Oklahoma, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Arkansas, Missouri. Executive secretary of Harlem section of Communist Party. Was on staff and editorial board of Daily Worker. Taught Marxism in labor schools. Veteran, 3 years overseas service in the Armed Forces in England, France, Belgium, and Germany. Member of Michigan State Committee of Communist Party and editorial director. Member of National Committee, Communist Party. Leaving Detroit to become staff member of Daily Worker.

Can you plead ignorance of these facts relating to one of the men whose meeting you sponsored or was alleged to have sponsored?

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I refuse to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can I ask you if the sponsoring of a banquet for one of these outstanding leaders in the Communist Party would not tend to influence and exert a tremendous influence among your friends and the people who looked up to you, in the accomplishments of the objectives of the Communist Party?

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am very anxious to know, Reverend Hill, how it was that the Communist Party was successful in getting you to sponsor a meeting the description of which I have just given.

Reverend HILL. I will give the same answer, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Reverend Hill, did you on February 13, 1947, speak at an Ella Reeve Bloor testimonial banquet sponsored by the Communist Party of the State of Michigan?

Mr. WOOD. Counsel, can you be more specific about the place?

Mr. CROCKETT. Did I understand you to suggest an addition to the question, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. WOOD. I simply made a suggestion to counsel.

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with the fact that Ella Reeve Bloor was one of the charter members of the Communist Party of the United States?

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you, on January 22, 1949, attend a banquet honoring Carl Winter, chairman of the Communist Party of district 7?

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Reverend Hill, certainly you must understand the importance to the committee of knowing how and under what circumstances your alleged participation in these matters, even if it were only by attendance, was secured by the Communist Party, if at all. We would like your cooperation in telling us that.

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I am sorry, I cannot cooperate with the committee along that particular line under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, you are stating to this committee, if I understand you correctly, if you truthfully answer these questions it might tend to incriminate you?

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I refuse to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. What, in your judgment, would be the effect upon your personal friends and followers if they learned that you were attending a banquet honoring the chairman of the Communist Party of this State, and a charter member of the Communist Party? Do you not think that would be an aid to the Communist Party in this community?

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee, in the course of its investigation, has received information that Ben Davis, Negro Communist from New York, spoke at the Hartford Avenue Baptist Church of which you are a pastor, is that correct?

Reverend HILL. Yes, it is, and my church has been providing a forum for anyone who has any information to pass on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us the circumstances under which he appeared there?

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I refuse to answer that question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did any member of the Communist Party or non-Communist, for that matter, confer with you about his use of your church?

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are acquainted with the fact that Benjamin Davis was an open member of the Communist Party and had been

elected to the Council of the City of New York on the Communist Party ticket. I mean, you were acquainted with that fact, were you not?

Reverend HILL. I don't know that he was elected on the Communist ticket. I know he was elected to the Council of the City of New York.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Counsel, is this the same Benjamin J. Davis who was indicted and placed on trial in the State of New York for the advocacy of the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence, and was convicted on that charge?

Mr. TAVENNER. I was just about to ask the witness if he knew that to be a fact.

Mr. JACKSON. In order that the record may be technically correct, I will withdraw my question and permit counsel to phrase it as he sees fit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is the Benjamin J. Davis, who appeared in your church, the same Benjamin Davis who was elected to the Council of the City of New York?

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I refuse to answer the question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you not already stated to the committee that Ben Davis did run for the Council of the City of New York, but you were uncertain as to whether it was as a Communist or not? Was that not the effect of your answer a few minutes ago? Are you now stating you will answer no questions with regard to Benjamin Davis?

Reverend HILL. If I have answered that one question, I do not see any need to answer any other.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let us see if there is. Do you know whether the Ben Davis who appeared in your church and who was elected a member of the Council of the City of New York, is the same Ben Davis who was tried as one of the 11 Communist Party leaders of the United States, and was convicted in the Federal court in New York City?

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I refuse to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee, in the course of its investigation, has learned also that your consent was solicited to write a letter to Governor Dewey of New York requesting a pardon for Morris Schappes? Were you requested to write such a letter?

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I refuse to answer the question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you, on February 18, 1944, attend a luncheon at the Book-Cadillac Hotel in honor of Harry Bridges?

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I again decline to answer the question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Reverend Hill, I again ask you whether or not you were consciously endeavoring to influence people of your church or your race towards the Communist Party, as such?

Reverend HILL. On the advice of counsel, I decline to answer the question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. You will not tell the committee whether you were intentionally endeavoring to aid the Communist Party, or not, by these various matters or any of them which I have called to your attention?

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. On February 8, 1943, according to the information which the committee has, you signed a petition to Congress to abolish the Dies committee. I raise no question in the world about your right or anyone else's right to express an opinion regarding a predecessor of this committee, or any committee.

The point I am interested in is, who was it and under what circumstances was the use of your name obtained in that matter, if it was so obtained?

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you at any time been a member of the board of directors of the Russian War Relief?

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you one of the speakers at a meeting on October 23, 1942, sponsoring the opening of a second front, that is, in which any organization was sponsoring the opening of a second front?

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. You do know that it was the Communist Party line at that time in 1942, which it endeavored to hand down to all of the organizations which were influenced or attempted to be influenced by the Communist Party, to adopt the second front in Europe. You do know that that was the Communist Party line at that time, do you not?

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at any time affiliated with the American Peace Mobilization?

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you engage in any activities for the release of Earl Browder, who had been convicted of fraud in obtaining his passport?

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. According to the People's Voice of March 21, 1942, page 11, you were the signer of a petition of the Citizens Committee to free Earl Browder, is that correct? I mean, is it correct that you did sign such a petition?

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then it is not worth while for me to ask you the circumstances under which such signature might have been obtained. I will ask you this: Do you not believe that a person who signs a petition for the head of the Communist Party of the United States, who had been convicted of fraud in a Federal court, would be lending aid and comfort to the Communist Party?

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. According to the Daily Worker of March 16, 1942, pages 1 and 4, you were a sponsor of the National Free Browder Congress. Do you recall that?

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I refuse to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are aware of the fact, are you not, that the Citizens Committee to free Earl Browder has been classified by the Attorney General as a Communist organization?

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I refuse to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like for you to tell the committee what you know about the formation in the State of Michigan, of an organization known as the Civil Rights Federation.

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I refuse to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever hold an official position in that organization?

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I refuse to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee whether or not that organization was used as a basis for the establishment, or rather the nucleus for the formation of the Civil Rights Congress of Michigan?

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I refuse to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hold any position in the Civil Rights Congress?

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. According to the Daily Worker of June 11, 1947, page 8, you spoke at a meeting of the Civil Rights Congress in defense of Eugene Dennis. Are you personally acquainted with Eugene Dennis?

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. What charge had been placed against Eugene Dennis which necessitated the organization of a group for his defense, do you recall?

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. According to the Chicago Sun Times of May 11, 1948, page 37, your name appears as the signer of an open letter by the Civil Rights Congress urging Congress to defeat the Mundt bill. Again I want to emphasize that there is no inference intended to be made against you or any other person for expressing your opinion on any bill relating to the work of this or any other committee, but in view of the issues involved in these matters, we are interested in how and under what circumstances your support to the opposition of the bill was obtained, if it was.

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. According to the Daily Worker of February 20, 1948, page 6, you were one of those who denounced the arrest of Ferdinand C. Smith. A deportation order had been entered against him. Did you denounce his arrest for deportation?

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you opposed to the deportation of aliens who advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States?

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you mean to tell the committee that you cannot answer that question truthfully without fear of possible incrimination?

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I decline to answer the question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. According to the Sunday edition of the Daily Worker, April 24, 1949, page 11, you participated in a statement of the Civil Rights Congress demanding that the indictment of the 11 Communist Party leaders in the city of New York be dropped. Did you participate in such statement, and if so, will you tell the committee how your support of such a matter was obtained?

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you of the opinion that the indictment against the 11 Communist leaders should have been dropped?

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. According to a list attached to a pamphlet entitled "In Defense of Human Rights," you were a signer of the petition to the United Nations Commission on human rights on behalf of the committee to defend the victims of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

What victims of the Committee on Un-American Activities were you referring to, if any?

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you opposed to investigations by the Committee on Un-American Activities designed to inform the Congress of the United States of the extent of Communist Party activities and propaganda in this country?

Reverend HILL. On the advice of counsel, I refuse to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you ever affiliated with an organization known as the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties?

Reverend HILL. I decline to answer on advice of counsel under the fifteenth amendment.

Mr. JACKSON. I think the witness added a couple of new amendments. The fifth amendment was the last reason given.

Reverend HILL. Maybe there ought to be new ones. I am going on the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. According to a conference program, you were a sponsor of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace held in New York City. I am not so much interested in your participation in it as I am how your participation, if that is true, was obtained. Will you tell us that.

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. According to the Daily Worker of July 24, 1950, at page 5, you were a signer of a statement issued by the Council on

African Affairs against the United States policy in Korea. Do you recall that?

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether Paul Robeson was the leader of the Council on African Affairs at that time?

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you aware that the Council on African Affairs was classified by the Attorney General and cited by him as a Communist organization?

Reverend HILL. I decline to answer on advice of counsel under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. According to a letterhead dated September 9, 1949, you were a sponsor of the National Nonpartisan Committee to defend the rights of the 12 Communist leaders. Again, I am more interested in how your sponsorship of such an organization was obtained and the circumstances than I am in the fact that you were such a sponsor, if that be true.

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are aware that these 12 persons were Communist Party leaders indicated for advocating and teaching the overthrow of our Government, are you not?

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever attended the Michigan School of Social Science?

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with a person by the name of Dave Moore?

Reverend HILL. What Dave Moore?

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with a Dave Moore who is a Ford worker?

Reverend HILL. I decline, upon advice of counsel, to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, let me hand you a document and ask you to examine it and possibly you will feel that you can answer the question, after you have examined the document without any fear of self-incrimination. This is a photostatic copy of an application for passport by Dave Moore—Dave W. Moore, and your signature apparently is on the document as an identifying witness. I would like you to examine the document and state whether or not you were an identifying witness of Mr. Moore.

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine the statement that appears there over the signature of Charles A. Hill, and state whether or not it contains information to the effect that Charles A. Hill had been personally acquainted with Dave Moore for 15 years.

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the date? Will you examine the application and state its date?

Reverend HILL. Of advice of counsel, I decline to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, let me state it for you, if you hand it back.

The application shows that it was dated the 17th day of June 1949. At that time you did know that Dave Moore had been selected as a delegate to the World Federation for Democratic Youth, to be held in Budapest in September 1949, and if you did, I would like for you to advise the committee how his selection was obtained as a delegate.

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I refuse to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Reverend Hill, have you been a candidate for a political office in Detroit?

Reverend HILL. I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. What office did you seek?

Reverend HILL. Common Council of the City of Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, whether or not, to your knowledge, the Communist Party as an organization—that is, as distinguished from individuals—played any part in your campaign.

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Gerald Boyd a full-time worker for you in your campaign?

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not Gerald Boyd was assigned to work for you in your campaign by the Communist Party?

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you collaborate or confer in any way in the matter of your political campaign with Carl Winter, district chairman of the Communist Party?

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you advised that the Communist Party was particularly interested in the success of your campaign, and why?

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, I have asked you these questions with the hope that you would enlighten the committee upon the methods used by the Communist Party to influence leaders among your race, and to use them. So I again want to make it plain that I am not attempting to put you in the Communist Party. I am endeavoring, to the best of my ability, to get information from you regarding the activities and methods of operation of the Communist Party, particularly among minority groups. And again, I want to give you the opportunity to tell this committee the extent to which the Communist Party has influenced you in these various activities which I have asked you about, but which you have declined to testify about.

Reverend HILL. On advice of counsel, I am sorry, I can't help you. I have told you I only have the one guide, and that is my Bible and nothing else influences me but those principles. Nobody else has any control.

MR. TAVENNER. You mean the Bible had something to do with your sponsoring of the banquet to the incoming and outgoing leaders of the Communist Party here in Michigan?

Reverend HILL. Upon advice of counsel, I decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

MR. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

MR. WOOD. Any questions, Mr. Jackson?

MR. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman. I think in the light of the witness' attitude toward the questions of counsel, that there certainly is no reason for asking any further questions. It is quite obvious that he is not going to answer any questions having to do with his Communist Party activities, which are alleged to have taken place within and outside of the Communist Party.

I do think that I should like to make a very brief statement: Men who have the high calling of the ministry, men who are dedicated to God and to His works are today rotting in prison cells in every country in the Communist orbit. Their Bibles are rotting beside them. It is bad enough in these days when we are waging a war against communism, when our men are dying by the thousands, that any man can commit the treason of membership in the Communist Party or of lending aid, or comfort or assistance to the Communist Party. To do so stamps them as enemies of the United States of America.

For a minister, for a man of the cloth, to aid or comfort or endorse or lend his assistance to Communists or to the Communist Party, is to compound the offense by including God Almighty in his treason. That is all I have to say.

Reverend HILL. If I might say, Mr. Chairman: What I have done, if I have violated any law, then I am willing to go into any court, meet my accuser, and be cross-examined. I have been interested in primarily one thing, and that is discrimination, segregation, the second-class citizenship that my people suffer, and as long as I live, until it is eradicated from this American society, I will accept the cooperation of anybody who wants to make America the land of the free and the home of the brave.

MR. JACKSON. I would suggest that you accept the help and assistance of some good, loyal Americans for a change. You will have a chance to meet your greatest accuser on some other plane.

Reverend HILL. I do it all the time.

MR. WOOD. Mr. Potter, have you any questions?

MR. POTTER. Reverend Hill, from your testimony, the only conclusion that I can draw is that if you are not a member of the Communist Party, you have cheated them out of a lot of dues, or else they owe you for valuable services that you have rendered their cause.

Thank you.

Reverend HILL. May I say, Mr. Potter—

MR. WOOD. Any further questions of the witness, Mr. Tavenner?

MR. TAVENNER. No, sir.

MR. WOOD. Is there any reason you know of why the witness should not be excused from further attendance?

MR. TAVENNER. I know of no reason.

Reverend HILL. Mr. Chairman, may I respond to Mr. Potter—

MR. WOOD. Witness excused.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. WOOD. The committee will recess for 10 minutes.

(A recess was taken.)

Mr. WOOD. Let us have order in the hearing room.

Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir. I would like to call Mr. Wayne Salisbury.

Mr. WOOD. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn.

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SALISBURY. I do.

TESTIMONY OF WAYNE B. SALISBURY

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Salisbury, are you represented by counsel?

Mr. SALISBURY. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Do you desire counsel?

Mr. SALISBURY. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Salisbury, will you state your full name, please.

Mr. SALISBURY. Wayne B. Salisbury.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. SALISBURY. May 25, 1914, Jackson, Mich.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you lived at Jackson, Mich., all of your life?

Mr. SALISBURY. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your educational background?

Mr. SALISBURY. High-school graduate, 1933. I spent 6 years learning the printing trade.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your employment?

Mr. SALISBURY. Since when? Since school?

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, yes, since you completed your school work.

Mr. SALISBURY. After school, I worked 20 months for Postal Telegraph, and then I spent nearly 17 years with the Citizen Patriot, the newspaper.

Mr. TAVENNER. What type of newspaper work were you doing?

Mr. SALISBURY. I am a printer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Salisbury, according to information in the possession of the committee, you were a member of the Communist Party from 1941 until March of 1948: is that correct?

Mr. SALISBURY. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you outline to the committee briefly how you became a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SALISBURY. Early in 1941 or late 1940, I had neighbors that were professed members—

Mr. TAVENNER. Members of what?

Mr. SALISBURY. The Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. SALISBURY. If I leave anything misunderstood, please ask me.

After many social visits with them—I mean being next-door neighbors—they asked me to become a member. I didn't know what to think about it, and I was talking to a friend of mine that I worked with, and he was quite irritated over the fact and thought I should write the authorities and see what they thought of it. And from there on, why, a man contacted me and we discussed it. I decided that I would do what I could to help.

Mr. TAVENNER. What Government agency was it that?—

Mr. SALISBURY. Michigan State Police.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Michigan State Police?

Mr. SALISBURY. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, what did you do after the Michigan State Police conferred with you about the matter?

Mr. SALISBURY. When the opportunity came and they asked me if I would join again, or asked me again if I would join, why, I said I would and became a member.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then is it true that during the entire period of your membership in the Communist Party you were acting in the capacity of obtaining information for the Michigan State Police?

Mr. SALISBURY. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the time of your membership in the Communist Party, were you a member of any group or cell of the Communist Party other than at Jackson, Mich.?

Mr. SALISBURY. Yes. At the later part of my membership, I was a member of the State committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. We will come to that a little later.

Who were the officers of the Jackson, Mich., branch of the Communist Party at the time you became affiliated with it?

Mr. SALISBURY. As far as I remember, it was Faye and Floyd McDonnell.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you spell the names, please.

Mr. SALISBURY. As far as I remember, it was M-e-D-o-n-n-e-l-l.

Mr. TAVENNER. What positions were held by them?

Mr. SALISBURY. Well, it has been quite a while. I believe he was an organizer, and I don't remember what she held.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you, as a member of the Jackson, Mich., branch of the Communist Party, ever become an officer?

Mr. SALISBURY. Local?

Mr. TAVENNER. Of your group.

Mr. SALISBURY. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you, as such officer, become a delegate to the State committee meetings of the Communist Party?

Mr. SALISBURY. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Salisbury, the committee has in its possession copies of reports of meetings which you attended as a member of the Communist Party, which meetings were held in the city of Detroit. You have examined these reports within the last few days; have you not?

Mr. SALISBURY. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have gone over them carefully?

Mr. SALISBURY. Yes; I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. They were reports made by you as a result of the understanding you had with the Michigan State Police?

Mr. SALISBURY. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were they made by you at the time of your attendance at the various meetings of which they purport to be a record?

Mr. SALISBURY. Or shortly after.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a meeting on February 28, 1943—that is, a meeting of the Communist Party—held at the Mirror Ballroom in Detroit, Mich.?

Mr. SALISBURY. Yes. Mr. Jess Whipple and I were delegates——

Mr. TAVENNER. W-h-i-p-p-l-e?

Mr. SALISBURY. That is right. We represented the Jackson branch, and we traveled from Jackson, Mich., here with the McDonnells for the meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you advise the committee as to what happened at this meeting, and the identity of the officers, and all you can recall independently from your recollection and also all you can recall from having examined your notes made at that time.

Mr. SALISBURY. We arrived in Detroit about 10 o'clock in the morning, and the meeting was called to order by John Little, about 11:40. At this time and for the majority of the time that I was in the Communist Party, being from an out-State club like Jackson, Mich., many individuals who spoke at the Communist convention were unknown to me; and, therefore, while I could report the happenings, the conversations, I was unable to identify the speaker at that time.

In many cases, I have never been able to identify the speaker. The purpose of the meeting—of the party meeting at that time—was to give local support for the war effort. This does not mean, however, that the Communist Party dropped all its other plans to assist in the war effort.

The first speaker at this convention spoke with respect to the needs of the Communist Party for uniting workers in the CIO. While this was always one of the points stressed by the Communist Party, the emphasis for uniting workers, the point of view of the Communist Party was now placed upon the war effort. The speaker said that the main job today was to do away with Red-baiting.

The next speaker was a Mr. Kristalsky,¹ who was from Hamtramck, Mich., and who I understood at one time ran on the Communist Party ticket. For what office, I don't know.

An unidentified male speaker spoke on the need of new recruits by the Communist Party.

An unidentified woman spoke about the youth movement of the Communist Party and the need to increase the membership of the YCL, which is the Young Communist League.

The next speaker I could identify was Jack White, from the Packard Motor Co. plant.

Following him was another speaker, whose name was unknown, being identified as being from the Plymouth plant in Detroit.

After several speakers, whose identity I did not learn, John Little, organization secretary of the Communist Party of the State of Michigan in 1943, spoke. Little spoke, in addition to their interest in the war effort, of the recruiting in the Communist Party of the State of Michigan to date. He stated that, while the Communist Party had set for itself a modest quota of 500 new members, they had received 278 members already. He broke this down into 213 auto workers, 130 Negroes, and 46 women.

He stated that in 1941 they recruited 86 members: in 1942, 50 members; and in 1943, to date, 278 members.

¹ George Kristalsky.

Mr. TAVENNER. These figures were given by John Little at the State committee meeting of the Communist Party, which was held on February 28, 1943, I believe you said. Is that correct?

Mr. SALISBURY. That is right.

Little spoke with respect to the rapid growth of the Communist Party at both the Packard Motor and Ford Motor car plants. He stated that 45 new members were assigned and recruited in the Ford foundry.

Speaking of the circulation of the Worker, the Sunday newspaper of the Communist Party, Little stated that the Communist Party had increased the circulation from 1,900 to 3,500; that its quota was recently set at 650 new subscription. This quota, he said, had been passed with a total of 875 new subscriptions to date.

Speaking of the youth and the activities of the Young Communist League, Little stated that the YCL had pledged 300 new members and that the party should get behind the YCL to assist them. He said, "I am pleased to report that we have 290 new recruits at this time."

The next speaker was Mr. Black of the Ford Motor Co., section 10. He stated that they have obtained, since October, 1942, 115 new members of the Communist Party within the Ford Motor section of the Communist Party. He stated that they had signed up 581 subscriptions to the Communist Party newspaper, the Worker, and had sold 580 copies of Earl Browder's book Victory and After.

An unidentified male, who was identified as being from section 3 of the Communist Party, the down river section, spoke next. He reported that the largest concentration of Communist Party members were within the membership of local 174, and that section 3 was comprised of a membership of 110 workers. He stated that at the Cadillac Motor Car Co. plant they had recruited 20 new members.

After lunch, Ann Beiswenger took over the announcement of the speakers.

The speakers in the afternoon session were: A Mr. Sykes,¹ of section 1—

Mr. TAVENNER. S-y-k-e-s?

Mr. SALISBURY. As far as I know, sir [continuing]. Of the East Side Communist Party group, an individual from the Ford Motor Co. whose identity I did not know, a representative from section 2 of the Communist Party from the East Side of Detroit, and an unidentified woman.

Pat Toohey spoke next. He was chairman—

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you raise your voice just a little more, please.

Mr. POTTER. And possibly, if you spoke just a little slower, it would help.

Mr. SALISBURY. Yes, sir.

Pat Toohey next spoke. Pat Toohey was chairman of the Communist Party for the State of Michigan, and he was followed by Roy Hudson.

He was succeeded by a man by the name of Widmark,² who identified himself as being from Flint, Mich.

The next speaker was David McKelvey White.

¹ Frank Sykes.

² James Widmark.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I believe that I did inform the committee that he is now deceased. If I haven't, I think I should at this time.

Mr. SALISBURY. The next speaker, Norman Ross, spoke on the YCL. He was succeeded by James Ford, who at one time was Vice Presidential candidate of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Salisbury, when did you next attend a meeting of the next Communist Party at Detroit?

Mr. SALISBURY. I next attended a State meeting of the Communist Party on August 29, 1943, upon invitation of Faye McDonnell. This meeting was held at the Communist Party headquarters, then located on the corner of Grand River and Vernor Highway.

The meeting started at about 1:30 p. m., and was opened by John Little, who immediately turned the gavel over to an individual whose identity I did not know, who was represented as being from the Plymouth local.

The first speaker was Miss Adeline Cole of Detroit, Mich. She spoke of the dissolution of the Young Communist League. She stated that there is a need now for an organization in which youths might express anti-Fascist views and rebuild the future; that it was now the time to consolidate the YCL with other youth groups that do not wish to be connected with the Communists.

She stated that the method of reorganization of various youth groups had not yet been decided and are open for opinions and suggestions. She stated that the new organization was not to have a program of communism or Marxism, but stated that this was not a retreat to hide the Communist name, because Communists were never accepted before as they are today.

She stated that the last YCL convention would be held in New York City, and that it would cost approximately \$1,000 to send 25 delegates from Michigan to New York, and that after this convention in New York there would be no more YCL. She said, of course, after the change, the young people would not want to use the Communist headquarters as their meeting place; so, after October 15 and 16, a new meeting place would have to be found, and she concluded by saying that no Communist organization was to be within this new organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you proceed?

Mr. SALISBURY. Pat Toohey was the next speaker. He spoke on the political situation and placed specific emphasis on four main meetings which were to be held in the near future:

- (1) Meeting of the Youth Movement in October;
- (2) The UAW convention to be held in October in Buffalo, N. Y.;
- (3) The election campaigns; and
- (4) The Civil Rights Conference, which was to be held September 12, 1943, at the Masonic Temple, Detroit.

Mr. Toohey stated that John Little, the organizer, was ready to go into the Army.

Nat Ganley, identified as a member of Local 155 of the UAW, was the next speaker. His subject was the UAW convention. While his theme was entitled "Win the War," he pointed out the necessity of members of the Communist Party who were delegates to the national UAW convention, of the loyalty to the party, by carrying the correct line to the convention and the efforts that they should spend to win over delegates to unity.

He stated that while Reuther and Leonard were now in the "Win the War" camp, some of their policies were not so concrete.

The next speaker, identified from Plymouth Local 51, who was called "Barney" by various members present, spoke on the union elections at the Plymouth plant.

The other speakers were Ann Beiswenger, James Widmark, of Flint, Mich.; a young lady of Briggs Aircraft, Local 742; and John Little.

The meeting was adjourned at 6 p. m.

Mr. TAVENNER. Excuse me a moment. See if you can raise your voice a little more. I am certain it is difficult to hear you. Then, if you will slow your speech, it will help a great deal.

Mr. SALISBURY. Okay. I am sorry.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will remind you of that from time to time. Just slow up a little.

Mr. SALISBURY. Following the adjournment, Faye McDonnell advised John Little that I was to be the next organizer of the Jackson branch of the Communist Party, taking the place of her husband, Floyd McDonnell.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Salisbury, did you take over at this time, as organizer of the Communist Party of the Jackson branch?

Mr. SALISBURY. No; I did not. I just didn't feel I could recruit people from the outside to become members, when I didn't believe in it myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Salisbury, did you, on March 5, 1944, attend a meeting of the State committee of the Communist Party in Lansing, Mich.?

Mr. SALISBURY. Yes; I did.

This meeting was originally scheduled for room 536, Tussing Building, Lansing, and was changed to the Spartan Room in the Olds Hotel.

Upon arriving at the Olds Hotel, we learned that the meeting had again been changed from the Spartan Room to the East Room.

Accompanied by George Ahrens—

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you spell the last name, please.

Mr. SALISBURY. Well, I don't know if I can spell it right, but I will try: A-h-r-e-n-s.

Accompanied by George Ahrens, Floyd McDonnell, and Faye McDonnell, we arrived at about 10:10 a. m. Upon arrival, we met Pat Toohey, Ann Beiswenger, David McKelvey White, and Art Braunlich, the new out-State organizer for the Communist Party of Michigan. He was described as a former professor from New York State.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Art Braunlich appointed to succeed Jack White, who had about that time been drafted to enter the armed services?

Mr. SALISBURY. As near as I can recollect, he succeeded John Little.

Mr. TAVENNER. Very well. Will you proceed to describe what occurred at this meeting.

Mr. SALISBURY. The meeting was opened by Faye McDonnell, of Jackson, who had recently been elected State chairman of the Communist Party. She introduced Comrade Higdon,¹ from Muskegon

¹ Hoke Higdon.

and he took over and acted as chairman for the remainder of the meeting.

Pat Toohey was the first speaker. Toohey spoke generally of the war and the cooperation which we owed to success. However, he told us that we were to expect a new world to come from the victories, and stated that the Marxists will have their part in this new world.

Toohey was followed by Art Braunlich, who reviewed Toohey's talk and dealt with the work of recruiting to make possible the request of Toohey, that if the Communist Party of Michigan—

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a minute. Slow down a little, please.

Mr. SALISBURY. I am sorry.

To make possible the request of Toohey, that if the Communist Party of Michigan had 5,000 members, it could be a powerful voice in the election throughout the State.

The meeting was adjourned for lunch at 12:45 p. m., and at 2:05 was opened by Higdon, with Ann Beiswenger being introduced as the first speaker.

Mrs. Beiswenger dealt with the responsibilities which fell upon the Communists of Michigan and the need of unity among Michigan workers in the coming political election. She stated that more farmers should be brought into the Communist Party, and said, "Many are ready to join with us." She mentioned that 300 new members had been recruited in Michigan during the current drive.

She mentioned some out-State branches, with new recruits listed as follows: Flint, 6; Jackson, 2; Pontiac, 2; Charlotte, 4 to 6; Benton Harbor, 2.

As a method of recruiting, she advised that the clubs should make lists of all possible recruits, including many women; that they should have recruiting meetings and socials; and that they should particularly check all farmers whom they thought might be interested in joining the Communist Party.

Beiswenger, in dealing with the role of the Communist Party in the State election, mentioned that they could not hope to be elected by running on the Communist ticket, but that they could win by running for office on other party ballots with labor behind them. She mentioned Ben Davis, of New York City, as holding a place on the New York City Council as a good example of this.

Beiswenger brought up the changing of the name of the Communist Party, which was eventually changed to Communist Political Association, and stated that under the new name they would carry out their leading role as Marxists. She said, "We, as Communists, are able to understand the changes in the world through our literature."

Ann Beiswenger opened her talk to a question period and was questioned by Jim Frazier, of Charlotte, Mich.; Mr. Davey,¹ of Grand Rapids, Mich.; and Larry Blyth, of Marine City, Mich.

Mr. TAVENNER. B-l-y-t-h?

Mr. SALISBURY. As far as I know.

Faye McDonnell, of Jackson, Mich., was the next speaker, and she was followed by Casper Kennedy, of Flint, Mich., who spoke on the refusal of the radio in Flint to allow a subversive organization to broadcast.

¹ Fred Davey.

Kennedy was followed by David White, of Detroit, who spoke on the Daily and Sunday Worker.

Jim Frazier, of Charlotte, Mich., talked on recruiting.

Other speakers were: Jim Widmark, Flint, Mich.; William Glenn, Grand Rapids, Mich.; and Art Braumlich, new out-State organizer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the person mentioned, William Glenn: A subpoena has been issued, but the committee has not been successful in having it served.¹

You may proceed. During the period of time that you acted as secretary of the Jackson branch of the Communist Party, were you also treasurer of the organization?

Mr. SALISBURY. That is right, secretary-treasurer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Secretary-treasurer was all one office?

Mr. SALISBURY. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you hold the position of secretary-treasurer?

Mr. SALISBURY. I think it was about the winter of 1943 on to 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you continue in that position after the Communist Political Association resumed its former identity as the Communist Party?

Mr. SALISBURY. That is correct, I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Salisbury, a report of yours dated November 6, 1944, deals with a meeting of the Jackson branch of the Communist Party, which was held at the home of Jess and Ida Whipple, 1535 Falahee Road, Jackson, Mich., on November 3, 1944. You reported that at this meeting, Ronald McIntosh accepted nomination as chairman of the Jackson group.

You also identified certain other individuals as being present. Would you give us their names?

Mr. SALISBURY. Well, Eva—that was Eva Pitcher. She, the last I knew, went to Saginaw. Matilda and Ronald McIntosh, man and wife, Floyd McDonnell, Ida Whipple, and myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a Browder meeting held at the Graystone ballroom, Detroit, Mich., on April 5, 1945?

Mr. SALISBURY. Yes, I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you identify for the committee the speakers at this rally.

Mr. SALISBURY. Nat Ganley made a short opening speech and introduced a man by the name of Green,² from Ford local.

Another individual from Ford, whose last name is McPhaul.³

McPhaul was followed by Frank Novak, who at that time was a clerk in Judge O'Brien's⁴ court.

Byron Edwards, chairman of the PAC, local 600; and Earl Browder were among the speakers at this rally.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, this is a good place for a break, if you wish.

Mr. WOOD. You mean for lunch?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. It is only 12 o'clock. I had planned to go at 12:30. If we quit now, we will quit until 1:30.

¹ See Communism in the Detroit Area—Part 2, pp. —, for testimony of William Glenn.

² Pressley Green.

³ Arthur McPhaul.

⁴ Patrick H. O'Brien.

The committee will stand in recess until 1:30.

(Whereupon, at 12 noon, the hearing was recessed until 1:30 p. m., this same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. WOOD. The committee will come to order.

Let the record disclose that there are present the following members of the committee: Messrs. Jackson, Potter, and Wood which constitutes a quorum.

Are you ready to proceed, counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SALISBURY, did you attend a state conference of the Communist Political Association on April 22, 1945, at Jericho Temple, Detroit, Mich.?

Mr. SALISBURY. Yes, I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you identify for the committee those who spoke at the occasion?

Mr. SALISBURY. Well, the meeting was opened by Pat Toohey.

Toohey was followed by Nat Ganley, vice president and member of the state committee of the Communist Political Association.

Pat Toohey then introduced two soldiers, Private First Class Searles and Pvt. Leslie Dolman, whom he identified as an individual who wears a Purple Heart.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does Searles spell his name S-e-a-r-l-e-s?

Mr. SALISBURY. As far as I know. Most of the names I had to get phonetically; so I don't know.

Following the introduction, two women spoke, whose identity I was unable to learn.

They were followed by Jack Raskin.

Fred Williams of Bohn Aluminum, then spoke and urged the election of the Reverend Charles Hill to the common council.

Williams was followed by an unidentified man from the Plymouth local, who in turn was followed by an unidentified young woman who spoke on the AYD and announced that the young people in the AYD were looking up and asking their elders in the Communist Political Association for advice.

The other speakers at the morning session were Jerry Boyd and Hoke Higdon of Muskegon, Mich.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I think it is well for the record to show the information that the committee has with regard to the individual Hoke Higdon. Our information is that he has been expelled from the Communist Party and is no longer a member.

Mr. SALISBURY. After the luncheon recess, an unidentified man from the midtown club of the Communist Political Association was the first speaker.

He was followed by Pressley Green, who in turn was followed by James Keller.

At 2:35 p. m., Jerry Boyd opened the meeting for discussion.

Following this, Jerry Boyd asked all to help in the nomination of Reverend Hill. Following the discussion period, the following individual spoke: Ike Greenberg: an individual by the name of Russell,¹

¹ Russell Coppock.

whose last name at that time I did not know, from Flint, Mich.; Shirley Ross; Bill McKie, vice president of the Communist Political Association——

Mr. TAVENNER. Is the proper spelling of Mr. McKie's name M-c-K-i-e?

Mr. SALISBURY. As far as I know.

There was Bill McKie who spoke on the concentration among the Ford employees. He stated that they had 200 or 300 members at Ford, but that only 30 to 50 attended meetings, and that there were only 7 at the convention.

Following McKie, speeches were made by Jess Parrish; John Williamson, representing the national committee of the Communist Political Association; and Art McPhaul.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Salisbury, on July 22, 1945, did you attend a State convention of the Communist Political Association held in Detroit, Mich., at 114 Erskine Street?

Mr. SALISBURY. Yes. I accompanied Faye McDonnell, another delegate to this meeting. The meeting was opened at 9:55 a. m., by Bill McKie.

The first order of business was the nomination for the chairman of the morning session. Those nominated were: Jerry Boyd; Nat Ganley; William McKie; Maurice Cook; Hoke Higdon; and Paul Boatin.

All declined to McKie. The motion was made to accept McKie, and he was nominated. Nominated as secretary for the convention were: Tom Dombrowski; Jerry Boyd; Nelson Davis; Laura Kelly; Mattie Woodson; and a man named Showerman.¹

Jerry Boyd accepted the nomination. All others declined and Mr. Boyd was nominated.

Nominations were accepted for membership for the rules committee. Committee delegates were nominated, and 14 accepted. The following accepted nominations to the rules committee: Laura Kelly, Midtown Club; Shapiro, Southfield; Bob Washington, First Congressional District; Helen Allison, Midtown Club; Paul Endicott, Midtown Club; Paul Henley, Midtown Club; Hoke Higdon, Muskegon; Tom Dombrowski, Hamtramck; a man named Campbell from Ben Davis Club; James Widmark, Flint; Fred Field, Grand Rapids.

Nominations for the election committee was the next order of business. Those elected were: Maurice Cook; Jerry Boyd——

Mr. TAVENNER. Please, not quite so rapidly with names.

Mr. SALISBURY. A man by the name of McAllister——

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you say McAllister?

Mr. SALISBURY. That is right.

Then there were G. Adiken——

Mr. TAVENNER. A-d-i-k-e-n?

Mr. SALISBURY. As far as I know. Then there was Savola;² Ganley;³ Henley——

Mr. TAVENNER. Is Savolia spelled S-a-v-o-l-i-a?

Mr. SALISBURY. As far as I know. I repeat Ganley, Henley, Ferris, and Rose Banks.

¹ Glen Showerman, 14751 Quincey, Detroit, Mich.

² Matt Savola, Iron River, Mich.

³ Nat Ganley.

MR. TAVENNER. Because of the speed you went in naming the persons who were nominated to the rules committee, I am going to ask you to give those names over again. I believe the first name you gave us was Laura Kelly. Would you mind giving us those names again and more slowly, please?

MR. SALISBURY. Laura Kelly——

MR. TAVENNER. What club?

MR. SALISBURY. Midtown.

MR. TAVENNER. All right.

MR. SALISBURY. Shapiro, Southfield Club——

MR. TAVENNER. Speak a little louder, please.

MR. SALISBURY. Bob Washington, First Congressional District; Helen Allison, Midtown Club; Paul Endicott, Midtown Club; Paul Henley, Midtown Club; Hoke Higdon, Muskegon; Tom Dombrowski, Hamtramck; a man named Campbell, Ben Davis Club; James Widmark, Flint; Fred Field, Grand Rapids.

Carl Winter, to be the new chairman of the Communist Party of Michigan, spoke as the first speaker starting at 11:05.

After a speech and extended report by the rules committee, the conference recessed for lunch.

Nominations for afternoon chairman were: Foss Baker and Hoke Higdon. Higdon withdrew in favor of Baker, and his nomination was accepted.

Speakers at the afternoon session were: Dick Jones, Nat Ganley, John Hell of the Michigan Avenue Club, Harry Fainaru, John——

MR. TAVENNER. F-a-i-n-a-r-u?

MR. SALISBURY. As far as I know.

Now, continuing John Anderson, local 155——

MR. TAVENNER. Is that last syllable o-n?

MR. SALISBURY. As far as I know.

Continuing Merle Work, Ray Blossom, Ruth Dombrowski, James Ford, Jim Widmark, Bob Washington, Tom Dombrowski, a girl whose last name was Campbell, Laura Kelly, and Mattie Woodson.

Mattie Woodson gave the attendance at the conference as follows: 26 clubs represented, 166 delegates, 23 alternates, and 26 visitors.

The general vein of this convention was to have all members of the Communist Party, including Carl Winter, to devote a considerable portion—as a matter of fact, in most cases, all of their time to apologize for the mistakes that they had made by changing the Communist Party to the Communist Political Association.

MR. TAVENNER. Mr. Salisbury, on July 17, 1946, there appears from your report to have been a meeting of the Jackson branch of the Communist Party at your home at 1405 South Milwaukee Street, Jackson, Mich.

Will you tell us about that, please?

MR. SALISBURY. Yes. The principal speaker at this meeting was Ann Beiswenger, Detroit, the wife of Hugo Beiswenger, a native of Jackson. The topic of her discussion was entitled "What Is Socialism?"

During the question period, Ann Beiswenger was asked, "Why are the Marxist-Leninist principles especially valuable today?" After much discussion, Ann pointed out that the United States is an imperialistic nation, and she stated, "It is the main threat to world peace."

With respect to recruiting, Ann Beiswenger pointed out that under

the period of revisionism which they had used themselves during the days of the Communist Political Association, that the Communist Party had recruited 20,000 members who were of poor quality; that Jackson, Mich., and the rest of the State of Michigan should concentrate on reregistering only the individuals determined to be good members.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do your notes reflect who attended this meeting at your home on July 17, 1946?

Mr. SALISBURY. Yes. There were Harry Boskey; George Ahrens; Ida and Jess Whipple; Eva Pitcher; Omar Kidwell; George B. Hunt, who was a visitor; Ann Beiswenger; Carolina Stearns, now deceased; and that is all.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of George B. Hunt as being a visitor. Was he a resident of Jackson?

Mr. SALISBURY. At that time. I don't know where he is now.

Mr. TAVENNER. I wish you would tell the committee whether he did become a member of the party or not.

Mr. SALISBURY. To my knowledge and recollection, I don't believe he did. He attended two or three meetings and never showed up again.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a meeting of the State committee of the Communist Party at the Civic Center, Detroit, Mich., on August 4, 1946?

Mr. SALISBURY. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you please tell us what occurred there?

Mr. SALISBURY. I arrived late at this meeting, about a quarter to 11. At the time I arrived, Nat Ganley was already on the floor. Ganley was talking about Communists in unions. He pointed out that the Schneiderman decision pointed to the right of members of the Communist Party to hold union cards. He also discussed the anti-Red clause in the constitutions of unions.

He spoke on the PAC and of getting the unions to back and endorse Communist candidates, but stated that trade unionists were not yet ready to endorse the Communist Party.

Following Ganley, there was a short recess. Following the recess, the speakers were: Merle Work; John Issacs of the AFL; an unidentified man from Flint whom I understood worked at Chevrolet; a white man from Ford Local 600, who was on the steering committee of the local as a known Communist; a man by the name of Sykes,¹ and Helen Allison.

Helen Allison, during her speech, told of what she described as terrorist attempts against Communists. She pointed out that Flint was the main concentration camp under the current organizing drive of the Communist Party.

She commended Harry Boskey for his excellent out-State organization, stating that they have 125 active new progressive members, and at the same time pointed out that the quality of members was improving.

Helen Allison's speech was interrupted by a lunch recess. After she finished, there was a short recess and after the recess, the following individuals were speakers: Abner Berry—

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, Abner Berry is the person for whom the banquet was given as referred to when Reverend Hill was on the witness stand.

¹ Frank Sykes.

Will you proceed, please?

Mr. SALISBURY. Berry was followed by Jerry Boyd, Joe Brandt, Hugo Beiswenger, Harry Boskey, Matt Savola. There were many individuals that I did not know the identity of who also spoke.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Carl Winter, chairman of the Communist Party of the State of Michigan, speak during this conference?

Mr. SALISBURY. Yes. Winter's speech dealt mostly with the ability of the Communist Party members to stand their ground in the face of criticism. He cited the need for a good sound program and the need for more work among the Jewish people.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a meeting of the State Committee of the Communist Party of Michigan on April 13, 1947, at 114 Erskine Street, which place I believe is known as the Civic Center?

Mr. SALISBURY. Yes. This meeting was opened at 10:45 a. m. by Carl Winter, with Jerry Boyd being nominated as chairman.

The first speech was made by Carl Winter. During the course of his speech, he covered many problems in the Michigan area which was of importance to the Communist Party. He devoted a considerable portion of his time to what he considered to be Red-baiting attacks upon the Communist Party of the United States. He stated that J. Edgar Hoover was behind it all because Hoover was interested in starting another branch of the Government, which he described as the "Supreme Political Police." He dealt with the refusal of Wayne University to bar AYD as a student organization. He talked about the Ford local election and pointed out the fact that William McKie received the highest number of votes, even though he is known to be a Communist.

He urged the members of the State committee to rally behind and support the Civil Rights Federation. Winter pointed out that they were suffering from a lack of finances, and if they were not helped, that it might just disappear overnight. He called for the members to obtain donations to the Civil Rights Federation from trade unions.

Dealing with registration, Winter expressed disappointment at the fact that only 1,600 members had been registered in the State of Michigan up to that time. He called for increasing subscriptions to the Michigan Herald to 6,000.

Following Carl Winter, the following individuals spoke: Merle Work; William Allan; Fred Williams; Jack Gore, a student from Ann Arbor; a man from local 208; Helen Allison; Harry Fainaru; and Joe Brandt; and an identified individual, whose subject was "Witch Hunts and Red-Baiting at Wayne University."

At 12:28 p. m., an unidentified man took the floor and claimed that the Communist Party was organized more in the out-State area of Michigan; that they must make cases of police brutality.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was referred to in "make cases of police brutality"? What do you mean?

Mr. SALISBURY. I don't recollect the instances, but there were instances where I believe some Negroes had been handled roughly by the police.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what way? Do you recall? Do you recall in what way they referred to the "making of cases of police brutality"?

Mr. SALISBURY. I don't know for what reasons the police and the individuals were in contact with each other, but the police, according

to them, had abused them bodily and they were trying to make an example of police methods, unorthodox methods.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you continue, please?

Mr. SALISBURY. At 1:55 p. m., after a luncheon recess, Billy Allan took the floor and discussed the drive for raising funds to fight what he described as Red-baiting. He told of raising \$12,000 in the State of Michigan and \$250,000 in the United States, and that the party was hoping to reach a goal of \$35,000 for the State of Michigan alone.

During a 5-minute discussion which followed Allan's speech, Harry Boskey stated that on the way to Saginaw, he had stopped in Pontiac and met with some fellow Communists, and that before he left Pontiac he had \$200 in collections, and he never did get to go to Saginaw.

Billy Allan was followed by Gore from Ann Arbor. Gore spoke of the \$150 which they had raised, and that their expectations were to raise \$1,200 in Ann Arbor alone.

A man from Grand Rapids, whose identity I did not learn, spoke next and stated that in Grand Rapids they had collected \$850.

An unidentified girl followed Gore, reporting for 12 clubs in the northwest section of Detroit, stating that \$2,100 had been pledged, with two clubs not reporting.

This young lady was followed by Joe Brandt from Flint, Mich., who stated that no collections had been made in Flint because of bad weather and poor work.

Brandt was followed by an unidentified man from the Ford section of the Communist Party, who said that the request from the Ford section members of \$900 was low, as the Communist Party had 225 members at Ford.

Widmark,¹ from Flint, was the next speaker, and while he claimed that Flint was the best of the three towns, he stated that the collections from these towns would be small.

It was then proposed that the report of Billy Allan to raise \$35,000 be accepted. The motion was put and carried.

A statement was made that \$23,000 should be raised by May 4.

A report was then made by Phil Schatz on the recruiting of new Communist Party members, and this report was accepted. Other speakers during the afternoon session were: Helen Allison, Merle Work, Harry Fainaru, James Jackson, and several other individuals whose identity I did not learn.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a Michigan State convention of the Communist Party on December 13 and 14, 1947?

Mr. SALISBURY. Yes. As I recall the circumstances which led up to my attendance at this convention, I was told to report to a house at 2691 Pingree in Detroit. But when I got there, it was the home of Phil Raymond.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whose house that was?

Mr. SALISBURY. Yes, Phil Raymond's. There were several other members of the party in the State there. On arriving at this house, there were present, in addition to myself, Hoke Higdon of Muskegon; Florence Kneip—I am not sure of the last name—two unidentified men from Benton Harbor, Mich.; and a man from a small settlement outside of Kalamazoo.

¹ James Widmark.

From this house we were taken to 2705 Joy Road, where the meeting was held. The meeting started at 6:30 p. m., with about 30 or 35 individuals in attendance.

Carl Winter, chairman of the Communist Party for the State of Michigan, opened the meeting by asking for the nomination of a chairman. I nominated Foss Baker of Lansing. After two or three other nominations were declined, Foss Baker was elected chairman for the evening.

The purpose of the meeting was to discuss ways of increasing the Communist Party's fund in Michigan and to step up their drive for increasing subscriptions to the Daily Worker and Sunday Worker, and for their publication, the Michigan Herald.

Also discussed during this meeting was the organizing of a third party with Henry Wallace as a candidate for President.

It was also pointed out that Walter Reuther, now in power in the UAW, was causing a great deal of difficulty for the Communists, this difficulty being described as their inability to keep their current members and of recruiting new ones.

Phil Schatz spoke and pointed out how the Communist Party of Michigan must watch out for spies, and used as an example how a woman in another State was active in her home club, became president, and was later discovered to be a police spy. Schatz pointed out that she lived in the same building with him, and that he saw her quite frequently. He used this case to illustrate that the Communist Party can never know who it can trust.

The second session of this conference was to be held at a new location for security reasons. The new meeting place was at 275 East Ferry, a building known as the Craftsmen's Club.

The meeting of December 14, was opened at 10:30 by Carl Winter, who announced that the board had recommended Fred Williams as chairman for that day.

Schatz was the first speaker and his speech dealt largely with re-registration. He pointed out that to date only 1,000 or 2,100 had been reregistered. He stated that the out-State clubs as of that time were doing a better job than the auto clubs in Detroit.

After a recess for lunch, Carl Winter was given an hour and a half to report on a third party and putting the Communists on the ballot in Michigan. In touching on the subscription drives and money-raising campaigns, he announced that there would be a January meeting of the Communist Party of the State on January 24 and 25, probably in Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. The investigation of the committee shows that that meeting was held on the date referred to.

Mr. SALISBURY. Phil Schatz then reported on the fund-raising campaign and in dealing with the quota assigned to Michigan, he stated that the Communist Party expected each State committeeman to donate at least 1 week's pay, and all other members, a day's pay, in order that Michigan might reach its quota. To supplement the donations from members of the Communist Party, they discussed ways of raising money through bazaars, rummage sales, and club parties. One member even pointed out that she knew two artists who would undoubtedly donate pictures than could be sold.

Discussing the Michigan Herald in a drive for a circulation of 10,000 it was reported that even with this quota, the Communist Party of the State of Michigan would have a deficit of \$8,000 to make up.

Again they discussed the question of a third party and of the plans with the third party to hold a convention in June, at which time the platform and policies for the third party would be decided.

At this time, party discipline and security was the subject of speakers and of debate. It was noted that at this particular meeting, a new policy had been adopted wherein no phone calls were to be made and no mail sent out with respect to the time and place of the meeting. It was announced that this procedure would be followed at all future meetings.

It was also pointed out that the members of the Communist Party were to be extremely careful about all notes. It was pointed out that they should watch their mail and refrain from using the telephone when discussing names or other matters relating to the Communist Party activities.

Following the discussion on security, it was announced that all notes taken would be placed on the desk or be turned over to individuals who would pass through the audience for the purpose of gathering up notes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me interrupt you at this point. Does your report of December 13 and 14 reflect the names of the individuals whom you recognized at the time as being in attendance at the convention?

Mr. SALISBURY. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give them please?

Mr. SALISBURY. Phil Schatz, Detroit; Jerry Bond, Detroit; James Jackson, Detroit; Ann and Hugo Beiswenger, Detroit; Bob Reed; Hoke Higdon, Muskegon; Nat Ganley, Detroit; William Allan, Detroit; Harry Fainaru, Detroit; Merle Work, Detroit; Tommy Dennis, Ypsilanti; Henry Winston, National offices in New York; Carl Winter, Detroit; Helen Allison; Fred Williams, Detroit; Jack Raskin, Detroit; Jack White, Detroit—

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a minute. Can you give us any further information regard the Jack White to whom you have referred to there?

Mr. SALISBURY. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Proceed.

Mr. SALISBURY. Foss Baker, Lansing; Florence Kneip, Traverse City; Jack Gore, formerly of Ann Arbor, now Detroit, where he was employed at the Dodge plant.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, you have testified, Mr. Salisbury, that near the close of the meeting it was announced that all notes taken would be placed on the desk or be turned over to individuals who would pass through the audience for the purpose of gathering them up. Well, did anything of an unusual character happen to you very soon after that?

Mr. SALISBURY. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, tell the committee about it.

Mr. SALISBURY. After the meeting was adjourned and I was getting ready to leave, Fred Williams came over and grabbed me by the shoulder quite firmly and spun me around, and informed me rather roughly that I hadn't turned in all my notes. I reached in my pocket and gave him another notebook. Before I got out of the building, I was approached again and they said that I hadn't turned in the notes

of the meeting of the night before. I told him that I knew that. I said that my notebook was at the hotel. They wanted to know what hotel. I told them the Tuller. He said, "Okay, we will go and get it."

They loaded me in the car with the rest of them, at least 5 or 6, and they drove me downtown. When we got downtown, James Jackson was delegated to go with me up to my room. I picked up the key and went to my room and walked into the clothes closet and came out and handed him my note book. He thanked me and went on his way.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that all that occurred at that time?

Mr. SALISBURY. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, following this period of time, did anything else occur at a later date with reference to the notes which you had taken at these meetings?

Mr. SALISBURY. Yes. On March 26, 1948, Hugo Beiswenger from Detroit and George Ahrens, one of the leaders in the party at Jackson, called upon me at my home for the purpose of——

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that at your home in Jackson?

Mr. SALISBURY. At my home on Milwaukee street.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

Mr. SALISBURY. For the purpose of picking up all records and monies of the local club, that were in my possession. After receiving the records, Hugo Beiswenger advised me that charges were being preferred against me, and that I should appear in Detroit on Easter Sunday for a hearing before the board.

Mr. TAVENNER. What board?

Mr. SALISBURY. The party board. I don't know what official title they held, but it was a hearing board of some type. I asked him what the charges were and he refused to tell me.

So on March 28, or thereabouts, it was Easter anyway, I appeared before a board of the Communist Party which was composed of Fred Williams, James Jackson, Frank Sykes, and an unidentified man and woman.

They questioned me about my notes which I have taken at the State committee convention held December 13 and 14. They asked me why I had taken such descriptive notes, such as listing the names of each speaker, rather than the subject matter. They asked me about my employment with the Jackson Citizen Patriot and what my union affiliations were; if I knew the name of the chief of police in Jackson, the number of police officers on the Jackson police force; why I put down the number of members in each club that were represented at the meeting of December 14, 1947; why I tore up my notes; and why items which they considered to be expenses were placed in the notes.

They also asked me about the notations of time.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your reply to them?

Mr. SALISBURY. Well, they asked me why the name of each speaker, rather than just the subject matter. I explained that I could give a better report when I got back to my own branch. They asked me about my employment with the Citizen Patriot. I was only a printer there. I had been there a long time, and this was my place of employment.

As to my union affiliations, I don't remember just what I was in the union at that time. I don't recall right now, but I did hold several offices in the union. They asked me the name of the chief of police,

and I told them Harry Bales. They asked me how I knew that, and I said, "You don't think anyone in Jackson doesn't know, since it is a small community."

They asked me about the number of men on the police force which I had no idea of. They asked me why I put down the numbers or the number of each member in each club, which I said would be a more fully report to give the members back home. When they asked me why I tore up my notes in two, I said that I figured they weren't of any value anymore, so I destroyed them. They asked me why the expenses were listed, and I said that I kept a budget of all the expenditures I made, any personal expenditure. They asked me why the time was noted, and I said that it was merely a way to keep track of how the day was going and what part of the day it was that I had made this particular notation.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did you have any further connections with the Communist Party after that time?

Mr. SALISBURY. Well, no. I received a little mail, but I believe that was from the Civil Rights Congress. Evidently my name hadn't been stricken from that mailing list yet, because I receive no mail now.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you expelled from the party upon their ascertaining the care that you exercised in recording what happened at their meetings?

Mr. SALISBURY. Well, they asked me if I would be willing to come back to another hearing, and I told them that if it was possible and not too much of an inconvenience, that I would be glad to do so. I asked them about my status, and I received no answer and never heard from them again.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you get any official notice of your expulsion from the party?

Mr. SALISBURY. Never.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Salisbury, have you made a record of the names of the members of the Communist Political Association at Jackson during the period of time when you were a member?

Mr. SALISBURY. Of the political association, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give them to the committee, please?

Mr. SALISBURY. Leo Ploetchl—

Mr. JACKSON. Spell that name, please.

Mr. SALISBURY. Well, as accurately as I can it is P-l-o-e-t-c-h-l; Matilda McIntosh and Ronald McIntosh; Bill Daley—

Mr. JACKSON. Will you spell Daley, please?

Mr. SALISBURY. As far as I knew, it was D-a-l-e-y; Ginny Lee, L-e-e—

Mr. TAVENNER. Possibly I should ask you over what period of time these persons were members. Did some of these persons whose names you are mentioning carry over from the Communist Political Association to the time of there activation of the Communist Party?

Mr. SALISBURY. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Communist Political Association came into being in 1944 and went out of existence in May 1945.

Mr. SALISBURY. Yes. Some of them carried over.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you state, in the course of naming these persons, which carried over into the reactivated party?

Mr. SALISBURY. Well, some of them would be difficult without proper notes here, but some of them I am sure of.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you go back and state again the names of those who were members of the Communist Political Association, and where you can be certain your own mind that they carried or that their membership carried over, I wish you would so state.

Mr. SALISBURY. Well, I believe Ploetchl did, and McIntosh, both Matilda and Ronald. They were man and wife. I don't remember about Bill Daley. I only saw him a couple of times. Ginny Lee, she carried over but dropped out.

Mr. JACKSON. Is that L-e-e?

Mr. SALISBURY. That is right.

Hugo Beiswenger, Sr., and his wife, they carried over. Vida Drown, who is a daughter of Faye and Floyd McDonnell—Ida and Jess Whipple, I believe they carried over. Eva Pitcher went to Saginaw. Just when she went, I don't remember now. Roy and Leola Cones, they dropped out somewhere along the line. I forget where. George Ahrens carried over. Clifford Potts and Doris Potts—Doris Potts was a daughter of McIntosh, and they dropped out before McIntosh.

As far as Clyde Fish, I don't remember how long he was in. It wasn't very long. Then there were Al and Esther Bigford.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson, do you desire to ask any questions?

Mr. JACKSON. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. I have no questions. I wish to convey my thanks, however.

Mr. WOOD. Permit me to join in in that expression, and if there is no further interrogation by counsel, is there any reason why the witness can't be excused?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Thank you very much, and you will be excused.
(The witness was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF FRED WILLIAMS

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Fred Williams?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I request that there be no pictures taken until after I finish.

Mr. WOOD. Very well. Will you be sworn, please?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Do you have counsel, Mr. Williams?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't have counsel, but I don't want that to mean that I waive my right to have a counsel.

Mr. WOOD. I was going to advise you that you still have that right, if you desire.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Fred Williams.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I was born in Plymouth, Pa.; May 7, 1906.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your education and training?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I went as far as about the eighth grade in school, and then I was compelled to go to work at the age of 13 to support my family, to help support the family of 10 I was brought into.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Detroit?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Approximately 27 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your major employment since you have been in Detroit?

Mr. WILLIAMS. An auto worker.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where in auto work?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, at the present time I am employed and have been employed for the last 2 years in the plant of the Bohn Aluminum Brass Corp.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that 2-year period, where were you employed?

Mr. WILLIAMS. You mean just prior to that?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAMS. On that period, I wish to exercise my constitutional rights under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Over how long a period do you wish to exercise your constitutional right to refuse to talk?

Mr. WILLIAMS. How far back do you want me to go? If you want me to, I will start when I was 11 years old, when I went to work, and I will tell you what periods I don't want to talk about.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am asking you this: How long a period prior to your employment at Bohn Aluminum is it, that you desire not to testify about?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I give the same answer, same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, what was your employment prior to Bohn?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I give the same answer, same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. In 1935, how were you employed?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I give the same answer, same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. 1936?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Same answer, same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. 1937?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Same answer, same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. 1938?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Same answer, same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. 1939?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Same answer, same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. 1940?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Same answer, same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Between 1940 and your employment at Bohn?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Ditto.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean by "ditto"?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Just to save you a little time; same answer, same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Wayne Salisbury has testified before the committee that you were acting as chairman of a meeting of the Communist Party, a convention, in December, the 14th or 15th, 1947, and that near the close of that meeting, all those present were directed to hand in their notes. Do you recall the incident?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I exercise my constitutional rights under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you collect Mr. Salisbury's notes on that occasion?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Same answer, same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you sit on the board to try him for the offense of recording the notes in your meeting?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Same answer, same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever used the name of Jack Wilson?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I exercise my constitutional rights and refuse to answer under my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever used the name of Jack Wilks?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Same answer, same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did I understand you to say that you had worked in the automobile trade or industry?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I would suggest that you ask the secretary to read back what I said.

Mr. TAVENNER. No, I am asking you.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you ever an official of local 208 of the United Auto Workers?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I exercise my constitutional rights under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, is there anything about local 208 of the United Auto Workers which would possibly subject you to criminal prosecution to admit you were a member of that local?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I exercise my constitutional rights under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Williams, I hand you a program of the Michigan School of Social Science, spring term of 1950, and I will ask you to look at page 3 and see if you see there a list of the members of the board of directors.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I see a mimeographed form here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you see there the list of the members of the board of directors?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I see a mimeographed form here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you see the members of the Board of directors?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I see a mimeographed form here.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all you can see?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I am compelled to see that when you shove it under my nose.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well then, would you tell the committee what you know about the formation of that school, how it was organized and who were interested in promoting it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I exercise my constitutional rights under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know how the funds were raised for the carrying on of the work of that school?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Same answer, same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, if you know, how the instructors were selected? Will you tell the committee whether that was done, for instance, by the board of directors?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Same answer, same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the paper in evidence and ask that it be marked "Williams Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. Wood. It may be admitted.

(The document referred to was marked "Williams Exhibit No. 1" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Williams, I will read you the names of the board of directors appearing here, which you apparently were not able to see.

They are: Christopher C. Alston; Nat Ganley; James E. Jackson, Jr.; William McKie, and Fred Williams.

Were you a member of the board of directors as reported here?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I exercise my constitutional rights under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. There is listed below the names of the board of directors, the name of the executive director as Ann Beiswenger. Do you know whether she was active in the work of this school?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Same answer, same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photograph of Bereniece Baldwin and I will ask you if you—

Mr. WILLIAMS. You mean you are putting one over here.

Mr. TAVENNER. I mean I am handing it to you. I will ask you if you know the person's photograph that appears there.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I exercise my constitutional rights under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you looked at the photograph?

Mr. WILLIAMS. How can I help it when you shove it under my nose?

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever sit in at a Communist Party meeting with Toby Baldwin?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I exercise my constitutional rights and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the period that you worked at Bohn Aluminum, which I understand has been for the past 2 years, was there any time in existence at that plant a Communist Party cell or unit, to your knowledge?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I exercise my constitutional rights and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have been in the past years, according to our information, a delegate to the international convention of the United Automobile Workers from time to time; isn't that right?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I exercise my constitutional rights and refuse to answer.

Mr. WOOD. Do you mean to say, sir, that under your oath to admit that you have been a delegate to a national convention of the Auto Workers of America, would incriminate you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I understand that under the fifth amendment I don't have to testify against myself.

Mr. WOOD. Do you say that you claim your privilege because it would tend to incriminate you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I say that the fifth amendment, to my knowledge, gives me the right to refuse to testify against myself. When I am here, I interpret it as such. I am sure that when the framers of our Constitution and the Bill of Rights put that in there, they must have had in mind, such committees as this.

Mr. WOOD. There is only one provision of the fifth amendment, sir, that is pertinent to this inquiry at all, and that is the provision that says, "No person shall be required to give evidence against himself in any criminal investigation."

When a man says that he harbors himself or cloaks himself behind that provision of the amendment in order to refuse to answer a question, the answer to that question would tend to incriminate him or he is swearing falsely, one or the other.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I exercise my constitutional rights under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

Mr. WOOD. I would say that a great many people in this area that belonged to the United Automobile Workers will take serious issue with you, that to be a member of it would incriminate anybody, and if it doesn't, under your answers there is but one conclusion.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I will lay my case before the Auto Workers.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. Obviously there is no use asking any questions having to do with Communist Party membership. Speaking as an individual on the committee, I believe the witness has been and is a functionary in the Communist Party. I am perfectly content also to have him lay his case before the loyal Americans in the United Automobile Workers.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I am perfectly willing to do so myself.

Mr. JACKSON. We are in full agreement on that.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. I have no questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to ask one more question.

Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I exercise my constitutional rights under the fifth amendment, and again refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. WOOD. We will stand in recess for 15 minutes.

Mr. WOOD. Let us have order, please.

Mr. Counsel, are you ready to proceed?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Who will you have next?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Elinor Maki.

Mr. WOOD. Mrs. Maki, will you please raise your hand and be sworn.

Mrs. MAKI. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. You do solemnly swear that the evidence that you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. MAKI. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Are you represented by counsel, Mrs. Maki?

TESTIMONY OF ELINOR MAKI, ACCOMPANIED BY HER COUNSEL, D. WILLIAM MAKI

Mrs. MAKI. I am.

Mr. WOOD. Will your counsel please identify himself to the reporter?

Mr. MAKI. I am D. William Maki. I am an attorney and representing my wife.

Mr. WOOD. Will you please give your office address?

Mr. MAKI. 2700 Rochester.

Mr. WOOD. You are at liberty to confer together as often as you may desire.

Mr. MAKI. I would like to say at this time, I have conferred with the committee regarding the type of testimony that they can expect from my wife and I have given the answers and reasons therefor.

Mr. WOOD. We will have to obtain that information from the witness herself. Counsel cannot speak for his client. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Mrs. MAKI. Elinor Maki.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you live; Mrs. Maki?

Mrs. MAKI. 2700 Rochester.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived there?

Mrs. MAKI. About 5 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a native of Detroit?

Mrs. MAKI. Yes; I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your educational background, Mrs. Maki?

Mrs. MAKI. I completed grade school, high school, 3 years of teachers' college and finished the work for the fourth year and did extension work.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, briefly, what your employment has been in the past 10 years?

Mrs. MAKI. I have been employed by the board of education.

Mr. TAVENNER. For the city of Detroit?

Mrs. MAKI. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. For how long a period of time?

Mrs. MAKI. Since 1929, September.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you referred to your educational training, did you take any educational work of any character in the State of California?

Mrs. MAKI. No; I did not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you been to the State of California in recent years?

Mrs. MAKI. I decline to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. On what grounds?

Mrs. MAKI. Under my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you traveled to any countries outside of the United States, and if so, when?

Mrs. MAKI. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you married prior to your present marriage?

Mrs. MAKI. I refuse to answer that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have the name prior to your present marriage of Elinor Laffery Cook and were you commonly known by that name?

Mrs. MAKI. I refuse to answer that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Maki, a witness by the name of Richard F. O'Hair testified before this committee on Monday. I hand you a photograph of him and first of all, I will ask you to examine the photograph and state whether or not you can identify him as a person you have known.

Mrs. MAKI. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. O'Hair, whose photograph appears in the picture that I gave you, has testified before the committee that you were

a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party of the State of Michigan. Was he stating the truth about that when he so testified, or is that false?

Mrs. MAKI. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. O'Hair has also stated in his testimony that you served as a member of the east side council of the Communist Party at the time that he served on that council, is that true or is it false?

Mrs. MAKI. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you, at any time, been a member of the east side council of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MAKI. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am sorry; I did not hear you.

Mrs. MAKI. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have also been identified by Mr. O'Hair as the membership director of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party. Did you serve as membership director of the Midtown Club or any other club of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MAKI. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. It has also been testified to by Mr. O'Hair that Joseph Bernstein was the individual to whom membership directors were required to make their returns. Were you acquainted with Mr. Joseph Bernstein?

Mrs. MAKI. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Another witness, by the name of Mr. Walter Dunn, appeared before this committee and identified you as the member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party. Was he correct in that identification?

Mrs. MAKI. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Mr. Dunn?

Mrs. MAKI. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party in 1935?

Mrs. MAKI. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photograph of Mrs. Bereniece Baldwin, and ask you to look at it and state whether or not you can identify her as a person known to you?

Mrs. MAKI. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever attended a Communist Party meeting at which she was present?

Mrs. MAKI. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MAKI. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you, on October 8, 1948, attend a meeting sponsored by the Michigan State Communist Party at 2940 Woodward Avenue in the city of Detroit, at which meeting the principal speaker was Benjamin Davis?

Mrs. MAKI. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you take part in a meeting on that occasion or any other time, the purpose of which was to raise funds for the defense of the 11 Communists on trial in the Federal court in New York City?

Mrs. MAKI. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you ever active in the solicitation of funds for that purpose?

Mrs. MAKI. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you make any contributions yourself for that purpose?

Mrs. MAKI. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. In asking you the question about the contribution of funds for the defense of the Communists, I am not so much interested as to whether you did as I am in learning the circumstances under which you may have been led to do it by other persons. Will you change your answer?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mrs. MAKI. I refuse to answer that question, the question implied in that statement?

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MAKI. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. WOOD. You had already asked her that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I thought that I asked it only up to 1935. I did not mean to repeat it. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Do you have any questions, Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No questions.

Mr. POTTER. No questions.

Mrs. MAKI. I have a statement I would like to read.

Mr. WOOD. Mrs. Maki, for the past several years you have been engaged as a teacher in the school here; have you not?

Mrs. MAKI. That is right.

Mr. WOOD. In that capacity you have had under your care many of the young children of this community; have you not?

Mrs. MAKI. A large number.

Mr. WOOD. I have an idea that the parents of these children, a great many of them at least, and I hope all of them, are conscious of the purposes of the Communist movement in this country which is ultimately to destroy the Government based on the Constitution; a provision of which you invoke here as your protection against being required to answer questions as to your connection therewith. Has it occurred to you that you are doing a very great disservice in disillusioning the children that you have been working with here in these schools for these many years by your action now in declining to give full and public information as to your actions and conduct in connection with this conspiracy to overthrow the Government. I would just like to know how you feel about it. Do you desire to comment at all? If not, I will not press the question.

Mrs. MAKI. Only to say I have carried out my duties to the best of my ability during all my employment as a school teacher.

Mr. WOOD. I am told you have been a very excellent teacher and to that extent I am sure that you have been but I was just wondering if you had become conscious now of the very grave injustice that you are doing to those pupils that have been under your guidance and control, particularly those of them which I am sure their parents recognize the seriousness of this menace posed by the Communist Party and its movement in America that in thus refusing to disclose their activities in connection with which you have been identified—whether there are such activities I am not saying—you have been given an opportunity to say your say in the highest forum that a person could

have in America, and that is the forum of the Congress of the United States, of which this committee is a subcommittee.

Mrs. MAKI. In my opinion, I have done nobody an injustice in all my life. I have striven very hard not to.

Mr. Wood. If you were in fact in the past, or if you are now in fact a member of this Communist movement with all its implications and its impact upon the free government, when everybody knows that it is dedicated to the destruction of that sort of government everywhere in the world, then you are doing a very grave injustice to every child that you have had under your control. I personally regret very exceedingly that you have taken this attitude, whether you have been a member of it, or whether you have not been. However, there is not anything this committee can do about it. You are within your constitutional rights under the Constitution and under the decision of the courts of this land in thus cloaking yourself behind this provision of the American Constitution. I hoped that you would be interested in preserving that Constitution.

Mrs. MAKI. I have a statement for the committee.

Mr. JACKSON. Supplementing what the chairman has had to say, I think it should be a matter in the record at this time that this committee, during the period of time I have been a member of this committee, has made every possible effort to assist in the social, political, and economic rehabilitation of those who have come forward frankly and given the committee the benefit of the information they have with respect to the Communist Party and its operations. A number of the witnesses have chosen not to do that and they have, by their own actions, and by no action of this committee, destroyed themselves. They have destroyed themselves in their own professional field and I regret it very much. I am sorry that when you leave the hearing room today there will be a very great doubt in the minds of a great many of the parents of the students whom you had under instruction as to whether or not a member of the Communist Party is qualified to be an objective teacher and whether or not she is qualified to instruct their children. However, that is a decision that you yourself have made, Mrs. Maki, and a decision that cannot be charged to the committee.

Would you mind telling the committee where you have spent the last 5 or 6 days?

Mrs. MAKI. I was out of town.

Mr. JACKSON. Would you mind telling the committee where you were?

Mrs. MAKI. I would.

Mr. JACKSON. You do object?

Mrs. MAKI. I would mind.

Mr. JACKSON. You refuse to tell the committee?

Mrs. MAKI. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Were you within the confines of the United States?

Mrs. MAKI. I was.

Mr. JACKSON. You were not out of the country?

Mrs. MAKI. No.

Mr. JACKSON. I have no further questions.

Mr. Wood. Have you been out of the United States within the past 12 months?

Mrs. MAKI. No; I have not.

Mr. WOOD. During the past 2 years?

Mrs. MAKI. I may have gone to Windsor for dinner.

Mr. WOOD. Have you ever been in the country of Mexico, to the south of the United States?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. MAKI. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask one other question.

Mrs. Maki, the witness who was on the stand just preceding you was Wayne Salisbury. He occupied a position in the Communist Party somewhat on a similar basis as to that which Mr. O'Hair stated at one time you occupied with regard to membership duties. I have before me a photostatic copy of a letter bearing date of October 21, 1947, signed legibly by Toby Baldwin and addressed to, "Dear Comrade Wayne," in which she was introducing herself as being responsible for the collection of dues. I would like for you to examine this photostatic copy and state whether or not you at any time received or at any time saw a similar notice.

(Document was handed to witness.)

Mrs. MAKI. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am going to offer the letter in evidence and ask that it be marked "Maki Exhibit 1."

Mr. WOOD. It will be so marked and received.

(The document referred to was marked "Maki Exhibit No. 1" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. This is all I have.

Mrs. MAKI. I have a statement.

Mr. WOOD. Give it to the clerk and it will be considered by the committee.

The witness will be excused.

(Witness was excused.)

Mr. WOOD. Will you call your next witness?

Mr. TAVENNER. Paul Henley.

Mr. WOOD. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn, please?

Mr. HENLEY. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HENLEY. Yes.

TESTIMONY OF PAUL A. HENLEY, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, BERNARD PROBE

Mr. WOOD. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. HENLEY. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. PROBE. My name is Bernard Probe and I have offices in the National Bank Building in the city of Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Henley, will you state your full name, please?

Mr. HENLEY. Paul A. Henley.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Henley?

Mr. HENLEY. I was born August 3, 1902, at Atkinson, Mich.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. HENLEY. At 675 West Willis, Detroit, Mich.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been a resident of the city of Detroit?

Mr. HENLEY. Since 1942.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you briefly outline to the committee your educational training?

Mr. HENLEY. I went to elementary school, finished high school, and went to college.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the nature of your employment?

Mr. HENLEY. I am an auto worker. I am a steward for Local 3, UAW-CIO.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been an auto worker?

Mr. HENLEY. Well, the greater part of my working days since I started to work as a young man. I have spent my time in the auto shops.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where have you worked in the industry during the past 10 years since you came here in 1942?

Mr. HENLEY. I worked for Packard Motor Car Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. Over what period of time?

Mr. HENLEY. 1942-44, in there—1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. After that?

Mr. HENLEY. I worked for Plymouth.

Mr. TAVENNER. From 1945 until when?

Mr. HENLEY. Sometime in 1946?

Mr. TAVENNER. Then where did you work?

Mr. HENLEY. Dodge Main.

Mr. TAVENNER. From 1946 until what time?

Mr. HENLEY. Up until—I am still employed with the Chrysler Corp. Local 3 has jurisdiction over more than one plant.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to ask how many plants.

Mr. HENLEY. Two.

Mr. TAVENNER. What are they, please?

Mr. HENLEY. Dodge Main and the Nine Mile plant.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not there is a cell or group of the Communist Party organized within either of those branches or those plants?

Mr. HENLEY. I invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you employed in 1947?

Mr. HENLEY. I think part of 1947 I was at the Plymouth plant and was laid off there and applied for work at Dodge and secured it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Richard F. O'Hair has testified before this committee and told the committee that he was a member of the East Side Council of the Communist Party in 1947, that this council was made up of representatives of various cells or groups of the party in the automobile industry and other groups. In the course of his testimony he identified you as one of the members of the East Side Council of the Communist Party. Was he correct in that identification or not?

Mr. HENLEY. I refuse to answer, exercising my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. In 1947 were you a member of the East Side Council of the Communist Party?

Mr. HENLEY. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at that time a member, that is, in 1947, of the Communist Party cell in any branch of the automobile industry; whether at Plymouth or elsewhere?

Mr. HENLEY. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at one time employed by the United States Government?

Mr. HENLEY. I invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to decline to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you take the position that to have been an employee of the United States Government might tend to incriminate you if you answer truthfully in regard to it?

Mr. HENLEY. I refuse to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I would suggest that the witness be directed to answer the question.

Mr. WOOD. I will hold, sir, that as a matter of law, employment with the United States Government does not incriminate a man and under that ruling you are directed to answer the question whether you have or have not been so employed.

Mr. PROBE. I think it should be understood——

Mr. WOOD. Advise your client, please, sir.

Mr. HENLEY. Will you repeat the question, please?

Mr. TAVENNER. The question is whether or not you were at any time employed by the United States Government?

Mr. HENLEY. Yes; I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Mr. HENLEY. Well, in the depression I worked on the WPA and I believe that is part of the governmental set-up. At a later period in 1945 I passed the civil service examination and was employed by the Department of Internal Revenue here in the city of Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you employed by the Department of Internal Revenue?

Mr. HENLEY. For a period of almost a year, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the first account that you gave us of your employment you stated that you changed employment in 1945 to the Plymouth Co. You were not employed in any way by the Plymouth Co. or any other automobile company while you were working for the Internal Revenue Department, were you?

Mr. HENLEY. I gave approximate dates in the answers.

Mr. TAVENNER. You had no other employment, did you, while you were working for the Internal Revenue Department?

Mr. HENLEY. No; I did not.

Mr. TAVENNER. You worked for about a year?

Mr. HENLEY. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what type of work for the Internal Revenue Department were you engaged?

Mr. HENLEY. I was zone deputy collector.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the procurement of that position, while you were so employed, did you sign an affidavit with regard to your membership at any time in an organization which had for its purpose the overthrow of the Government of the United States?

Mr. HENLEY. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and decline to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you sign a non-Communist affidavit?

Mr. HENLEY. I refuse to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. In 1945 when you procured your position with the United States Government, did you advise it that you had ever been a member of the Communist Party or that you had not been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HENLEY. I refuse to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Had you been a member of the Communist Party at the time you accepted employment and engaged in work for the United States Government?

Mr. HENLEY. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment and decline to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, I believe at the beginning of your testimony you stated that you had been or may now be a steward in your union. Just what did you tell us about that?

Mr. HENLEY. I told you that I was a steward in local 3.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been a steward in local 3?

Mr. HENLEY. Well, I have been a line steward for 4 years or so and now I am chief steward. I have been chief steward for about 2 months.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is the position of steward in local 3 an elective or appointive position?

Mr. HENLEY. The position is an elective position and the election is going on today; and because I have been summoned before this committee, I do not think it is by accident, my chances of winning it are not too good.

Mr. TAVENNER. I can assure you, Mr. Henley, that the committee had no knowledge that you were engaged in an election of that type, nor in fact that you were a steward of your union. The first information that has been obtained on the subject is that which came from you. Let me ask you about it. As a steward, were you required to sign a non-Communist affidavit?

Mr. HENLEY. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment and decline to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am asking you, under the regulations applicable to stewards, are stewards required to sign non-Communist affidavits?

Mr. HENLEY. I think you just made a statement.

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir. Read the question (addressing official court reporter).

(The question was read by the official court reporter.)

Mr. HENLEY. I decline to answer the question under my privileges in the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you sign a non-Communist affidavit as a steward of your union?

Mr. HENLEY. I decline to answer the question on the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the period of time when you have served and acted as a steward of your union have you been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HENLEY. I decline to answer the question on the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does the constitution of the UAW prohibit a person who is an official in the union to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HENLEY. I decline to answer the question on the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time advise officials of your union or the rank and file membership that you were not a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HENLEY. I decline to answer the question on the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. If there is a provision of the constitution of your union which prohibits members of the Communist Party to be officials, do you propose to make any statement to them with regard to yourself?

Mr. HENLEY. I decline to answer the question on the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions. Pardon me, I have one more question, if you please.

I should ask another question.

Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HENLEY. I decline to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. I should like to explore for a moment, Mr. Chairman, the question of this election which is taking place today and I join counsel in assuring the witness that this committee had no knowledge of it. However, as long as the witness has volunteered the information with respect to the election, I will ask the question, in what manner would your appearance before this committee today affect the outcome of that election?

Mr. HENLEY. One of the men who testified here yesterday, I understand according to press reports, was ejected from the shop and threatened with lynching. He was John Cherveny, and such a thing could happen to me or anyone, although I don't know whether it would happen. But this is due to the hysteria that is present and the witch hunting—

Mr. JACKSON. Do you know the witness who appeared yesterday to whom you have reference?

Mr. HENLEY. I decline to answer the question under my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. JACKSON. It would appear to me that the members of your union would not have any way of knowing, prior to your appearance on the stand here today, whether you intended to cooperate with the committee or not cooperate with the committee. Wouldn't that normally be the case?

Mr. HENLEY. I decline to answer the question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. JACKSON. Is not the fact of the matter that you are very much concerned whether or not your fellow workers will work with you in the light of your refusal to testify before this committee and before the people of the United States, speaking through their Congress?

Mr. HENLEY. As a steward I handled the grievances of my men to the best of my ability and always presented such grievances to the management. Before today I was doing all right.

Mr. JACKSON. Well, then, if your work has been of the standards which would meet with the approval of your fellow workers, perhaps that will be an overriding influence with respect to your lack of testimony here today. Perhaps you will find yourself welcome back at your employment.

I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. I have no questions.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused from further attendance before this committee?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. It is so ordered. The witness is excused.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. WOOD. Will you call your next witness, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. C. LeBron Simmons.

**TESTIMONY OF CHARLES LeBRON SIMMONS, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS
COUNSEL, CHESTER SMITH**

Mr. SMITH. I make a motion that no pictures be taken while we testify.

Mr. WOOD. What is your name?

Mr. SMITH. My name is Chester Smith.

Mr. WOOD. The witness has asked that no pictures be taken while the witness is testifying and I will have to ask you [addressing news photographers] to respect the wishes of the witness.

Will you raise your right hand and be sworn?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SIMMONS. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Do I understand from the statement just made that you are accompanied by counsel?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Will counsel identify himself?

Mr. SMITH. I am Chester Smith, attorney.

Mr. WOOD. Will you give your professional address?

Mr. SMITH. 911 Gratiot Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

Mr. WOOD. Do I understand the statement made by your counsel reflects your wishes?

Mr. SIMMONS. That is right. I also wish to advise the chairman of this committee that I have a statement here in the form of a resolution adopted by the Wolverine Bar Association, and which I would like to introduce as Simmons exhibit No. 1.

Mr. TAVENNER. May I see Simmons exhibit No. 1?

Will you state to the committee, please, your full name?

Mr. SMITH. Just one moment, Mr. Chairman, I would like to make a motion that there is not a quorum present of the committee and we raise that question.

Mr. JACKSON. I move a recess, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. We will take a recess for 10 minutes.

(Whereupon a short recess was taken.)

Mr. WOOD. Let us have order, please.

Let the record show that there are present the following members of the subcommittee: Messrs. Jackson, Potter, and Wood, constituting a majority of the subcommittee.

You may proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Simmons, what is your name, please?

Mr. SIMMONS. My name is Charles LeBron Simmons.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. SIMMONS. I was born at Chattanooga, Tenn., October 2, 1909.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been a resident of the city of Detroit?

Mr. SIMMONS. I have been a resident of Detroit since 1920.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your profession?

Mr. SIMMONS. I am an attorney.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you practice law in Detroit?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes; I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you engaged in the practice of law in Detroit?

Mr. SIMMONS. Since 1935.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your educational preparation for the practice of your profession, in brief?

Mr. SIMMONS. I went to elementary school here in Detroit, high school in Detroit, received my bachelor of arts degree at the University of Michigan, and my LL. B. degree from the University of Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Simmons, I have before me Simmons exhibit No. 1. I notice the statement which I will quote to you:

We see in this first attack by the committee against a Negro lawyer of stature—

Mr. SIMMONS. Will you tell me what page?

Mr. TAVENNER. Page 3, near the middle paragraph:

We see in this first attack by the committee against a Negro lawyer of stature, an extension of the committee's recent attack upon the liberal lawyers of California and its persistent smearing of the only national interracial association of lawyers, the National Lawyers Guild.

Are you acquainted with the so-called recent attack by this committee upon the liberal lawyers of California? Have you read the committee hearings on the matter?

Mr. SIMMONS. No, I have not read the committee's recent hearing in California.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you trying to reflect upon the purposes of the committee adversely in stating what we are doing here is extending our recent attack upon the liberal lawyers of California, without having read anything about that attack or what was done in California?

Mr. SIMMONS. This is a resolution that was adopted by the Wolverine Bar Association.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of that bar association?

Mr. SIMMONS. I certainly am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you participate in the preparation of that resolution?

Mr. SIMMONS. I participated in the discussion and in the adoption of this resolution and also Mr. Turner, who was here yesterday, participated in the discussion and adoption of this resolution.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, the hearings conducted by the committee with regard to the so-called attack upon liberal lawyers in California actually consisted of the testimony of five lawyers who had been duped into joining a Communist Party professional cell within the legal profession. Now, that was what the testimony was about.

Do you think that the Committee on Un-American Activities should grant immunity from investigation to lawyers who may be members of the Communist Party merely because they are lawyers?

Mr. SIMMONS. Upon advice of my counsel, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. On what grounds?

Mr. SIMMONS. Upon the privileges of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you explain how that question could possibly involve prosecution of you if you were to answer it truthfully?

Mr. SIMMONS. I think you as a lawyer understand that I do not have to tell you that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that the only answer you have to that?

Mr. SIMMONS. All the answer to the question you have just given me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Here is a resolution which you have presented here and which you would have filed as Simmons exhibit 1. Yet, you say to discuss the question and discuss the subject of your resolution here might tend to incriminate you when you yourself have presented it.

Mr. SIMMONS. That is not the question you asked me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; it is. It goes right to the heart of your resolution.

Mr. SIMMONS. It is not what I said. That is not the question you asked me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me get the question clear. I have asked you whether or not in your judgment persons who are members of the Communist Party should be immune from investigation if they happen to be a member of the legal profession.

Mr. SIMMONS. Upon advice of my counsel I refuse to answer the question, relying upon the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. The five lawyers who testified in the California hearing that they had been duped into joining the Communist Party professional cell, that is, the cell within the lawyers' group, all resigned when they found out the true purposes of the Communist Party.

Are you attempting to state through the resolution which you have adopted and presented here that this committee should not investigate situations of that kind and report to the Congress and make known to the people the Communist Party activities of individuals who happen to be members of the legal profession?

Mr. SIMMONS. I would like for you to reformulate that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you just answer it?

Mr. SIMMONS. You used the word, "duped," which presupposes—I mean there is a supposition that you assume in your question. I would like to have the question rephrased.

Mr. TAVENNER. I was giving the benefit of every doubt to the individuals that they were duped into joining the Communist Party. Whether they were duped or whether they did it with their eyes open, do you think this committee ought to refrain from investigating communism among lawyers?

Mr. SIMMONS. If the purpose of this committee is to equate communism with Un-Americanism—is that the function and purpose of this committee?

Mr. WOOD. On that score, is there any question in your mind whether or not communism is un-American?

Mr. SIMMONS. There is some question in my mind what this committee determines to be un-Americanism.

Mr. WOOD. Is communism un-Americanism, in your estimate?

Mr. SIMMONS. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now I refer to the last phrase in the sentence from your resolution, Simmons exhibit No. 1, where it is said, or where, rather, the action of the committee in California is referred to as, "its persistent smearing of the only national interracial association

of lawyers, the National Lawyers' Guild." have you read the testimony of the four or five lawyers with regard to the activity of the Communist Party members within the professional cell of the Communist Party in exerting its control and influence into the Lawyers' Guild, the local unit of the Lawyers' Guild in Los Angeles?

Mr. SIMMONS. No, I have not had an opportunity to read it.

Mr. TAVENNER. We would like to know here whether there are to your knowledge any members of the Communist Party among lawyers in Detroit who are endeavoring to exercise a control or influence originating in the Communist Party, on your local unit of the Lawyers' Guild?

Mr. SIMMONS. I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of the Lawyers' Guild?

Mr. SIMMONS. I certainly am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SIMMONS. I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you hold any position in the Lawyers' Guild?

Mr. SIMMONS. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever held a position in the Lawyers' Guild?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes; I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position?

Mr. SIMMONS. Member of the executive board.

Mr. TAVENNER. At that time were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SIMMONS. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there any other members of the executive board of the Lawyers' Guild known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. SIMMONS. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you and other members of the executive board who were members of the Communist Party confer in advance of meetings and endeavor to pass the Communist Party line on through the Lawyers' Guild?

Mr. SIMMONS. No, 1, that question makes an assumption which is incorrect. Will you rephrase the question so that I might answer it?

Mr. TAVENNER. To your knowledge, have members of the Communist Party who were officials of the Lawyers' Guild, met prior to the guild meetings and discussed and agreed upon policies to be advanced in the Lawyers' Guild?

Mr. SIMMONS. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a photograph, Mr. Simmons, of Mr. Richard F. O'Hair and ask you if you can identify the person whose photograph appears there as a person you have ever known?

Mr. SIMMONS. I saw him testify here yesterday.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that the first time you have seen him?

Mr. SIMMONS. I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why?

Mr. SIMMONS. Under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your reason for asserting the fifth amendment? What provision of the fifth amendment is the basis for your refusal to testify?

Mr. SIMMONS. Under the privileged section of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is that?

Mr. SIMMONS. I think the amendment speaks for itself.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is it? If you are refusing to testify because of some constitutional provision that applies to you, I would like to know exactly what it is and why you are relying upon it.

Mr. SIMMONS. I think that particular section under the fifth amendment states that no person shall be compelled to testify against himself.

Mr. TAVENNER. In a criminal case.

Mr. SIMMONS. That is right, in a criminal case.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then does your answer mean that to answer the question truthfully would result in apprehension on your part that you would be prosecuted criminally?

Mr. SIMMONS. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. O'Hair has stated that he knew you when he testified before the committee and he identified you as a member of the Communist Party. Do you desire or are you willing to deny or affirm the truth of Mr. O'Hair's identification of you?

Mr. SIMMONS. When did he testify I was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAVENNER. On the first day of his testimony here, the only day of his testimony here.

Mr. SIMMONS. Do you have a transcript of that testimony so I can see it?

Mr. TAVENNER. No; I do not.

Mr. SIMMONS. Then I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you [addressing staff member] see if the transcript is here? Are you [addressing witness] in doubt whether or not he did identify you? I may be incorrect in my statement.

Mr. SIMMONS. Well, the transcript will speak for itself.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hear him testify?

Mr. SIMMONS. Part of his testimony I heard.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hear him identify you as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SIMMONS. No; I did not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you at any time been a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. SIMMONS. I respectfully decline to answer that question, relying on the fifth amendment and its privileges.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you at any time been a candidate for political office in the State of Michigan on the Communist Party ticket?

Mr. SIMMONS. I decline to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I will withdraw my question for the present based upon the testimony of Mr. O'Hair, in the light of the witnesses questioning it, until I can ascertain whether or not he was the one who made the identification. In the meantime, I will ask you whether you are now a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Simmons.

Mr. SIMMONS. I decline to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you at any time been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SIMMONS. I refuse to answer that for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Do you have any questions, Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No questions.

Mr. POTTER. No questions.

Mr. SIMMONS. I would like to have the resolution made a part of the record.

Mr. WOOD. Give it to the clerk and it will be considered by the committee.

Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused from any further attendance on the committee?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. It is so ordered. The witness is excused.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. WOOD. Will you call your next witness, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. I will call Arthur McPhaul.

**TESTIMONY OF ARTHUR McPHAUL, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS
COUNSEL, GEORGE W. CROCKETT, JR.**

Mr. WOOD. Mr. McPhaul, the committee has heretofore served upon you a subpoena duces tecum, to produce certain records and documents. Are you prepared to respond to that subpoena?

Mr. CROCKETT. May I suggest that the photographers be instructed to cease taking pictures, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. WOOD. Does Mr. McPhaul object to the pictures? Is that your request?

Mr. McPHAUL. That is right.

Mr. WOOD. I will ask the photographers then to desist from taking further pictures. Will you answer my question, Mr. McPhaul. Are you prepared to produce the documents and papers that have been called upon for you to produce under the subpoena?

Mr. McPHAUL. Mr. Wood, I refuse to answer this or any question which deals with the possession or custody of the books and records called for in the subpoena. I claim my privilege under the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

Mr. WOOD. In view of that answer, Mr. Counsel, do you desire to proceed with the examination of this witness at this time?

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to ask the witness if he has any other reason for refusing to produce the documents called for in the subpoena.

Mr. McPHAUL. I think my answer covers it.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to read the subpoena into the record, at least part of it, and introduce it. The subpoena calls for—

the appearance before the Committee on Un-American Activities or a duly authorized subcommittee thereof, from the House of Representatives of the United States, of which the Honorable John S. Wood is chairman, together with all records, correspondence, memoranda, pertaining to the organization of, the affiliation with other organizations and all moneys received or expended by the Civil Rights Congress, Room 737, Federal Building, Detroit, Mich., Tuesday, February 26, 1952.

I desire to offer the subpoena in evidence and ask that it be marked "McPhaul Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. WOOD. It will be so marked and received.

(The document referred to was marked "McPhaul Exhibit No. 1" and received in evidence.)

Mr. WOOD. In order to complete the record, Mr. McPhaul, is it in response to this subpoena that has just been read that you now decline, for the reasons you have stated, to produce the documents and books and records therein called for?

Mr. McPHAUL. I have stated the reasons, for the record.

Mr. WOOD. Is it in response to this subpoena that you refuse to answer?

Mr. McPHAUL. That is my answer that I have just given.

Mr. WOOD. To this subpoena?

Mr. McPHAUL. To that subpoena; yes.

Mr. WOOD. Now, the question I will ask counsel is, it is now 4:30. Do you desire to proceed with the examination of this witness at this time? If so, I will administer the oath to him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; let us proceed.

Mr. WOOD. Will you please stand and be sworn. Do you solemnly swear that the evidence that you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. McPHAUL. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. McPHAUL. I am.

Mr. WOOD. Will you identify yourself for the record, Counsel?

Mr. CROCKETT. My name is George W. Crockett, Jr., of the Michigan bar and the United States Supreme Court bar. My office is located in the Cadillac Tower Building in the city of Detroit.

Mr. McPHAUL. I have just handed each member of the committee a copy of a prepared statement. I also included a petition, We Charge Genocide, a crime of the Government against Negro people. That was presented to the United Nations a few weeks ago.

Mr. WOOD. The committee has it in hand and it will be given due consideration. Just confine yourselves here to the answering of the questions asked you and we will get along.

Mr. McPHAUL. I just wanted to help by pointing out, if you will permit me to read certain things—

Mr. WOOD. If we desire that sort of assistance, we will call on you for it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name, please?

Mr. McPHAUL. Arthur McPhaul.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you born, Mr. McPhaul?

Mr. McPHAUL. There is some question about where I was born. You being from Virginia, sir, you know, no doubt, in most of the Southern States—

Mr. WOOD. Will you just answer the question?

Mr. McPHAUL. They just don't bother to make birth certificates.

Mr. TAVENNER. No; I didn't have one myself.

Mr. WOOD. Just give us your best understanding about it, if you do not know definitely. Can you approximate it? I did not have one, but I finally went back to the old family Bible and dug up one.

Mr. TAVENNER. I asked a question of one witness on an occasion of where she was born and she started back at Jamestown. I really only want to know for the purpose of the record what your age is.

Mr. McPHAUL. I think I was born in Oklahoma.

Mr. TAVENNER. When?

Mr. McPHAUL. 1909.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. McPhaul, you were served with a subpoena by Mr. Sam O'Connell, deputy United States marshal, to appear before the committee on the 26th day of February 1952 and produce the records, correspondence, and memoranda pertaining to the organization of and affiliation with other organizations and all moneys received and expended by the Civil Rights Congress, were you not?

Mr. MCPHAUL. Yes; I was served with a subpoena.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do I understand that you refuse to produce any of the records directed to be produced under the subpoena?

Mr. MCPHAUL. I have answered that, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. WOOD. You did not answer it under oath, and I think perhaps you will agree with me that it would be proper to do so under oath if you are asked.

Mr. MCPHAUL. I will repeat the answer that I gave at the beginning.

Mr. WOOD. Will that answer stand as your answer to the question just asked you?

Mr. MCPHAUL. Will you repeat the question?

Mr. TAVENNER. The question is as to whether or not you are refusing to produce the records directed to be produced under the subpoena?

Mr. MCPHAUL. My answer to that is, I refuse to answer this or any questions which deal with the possession or custody of the books and records called for in this subpoena. I claim my privileges under the fifth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. TAVENNER. My question to you was not answered by that statement, in my judgment. My question was whether or not you are refusing to produce the records which you were directed to produce under this subpoena?

Mr. MCPHAUL. I have answered it in this statement.

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir. You have stated that you refuse to answer any questions pertaining to them. I have not asked you a question that pertains to them. I have asked you to produce the records. Now, will you produce them?

Mr. MCPHAUL. I will not. While he is conferencing, I wonder if the Kluxers of Georgia have ever been asked to produce their records.

Mr. WOOD. If it was pertinent to this inquiry, I could answer that question for you, sir, that they have been requested to do so and have done so.

Mr. MCPHAUL. I would like to see the records, Mr. Chairman, of some of the proceedings from such an inquiry into the Ku Klux Klan of Georgia, especially.

Mr. WOOD. You are perfectly at liberty, sir, to come to the committee offices and view them. I will say for the benefit of the witness, that in view of certain published statements that have been made in this city, which are intended, I believe, to reflect upon me, that I happen to be the first American official who ever prosecuted a Ku Klux Klansman in Georgia and convicted him and sentenced him to prison for outrages committed on people of both colors in my State.

Mr. MCPHAUL. You did convict some for lynching.

Mr. WOOD. I convicted some for outrages and for assault with intent to murder, in the courts of my State. Perhaps that might alleviate some of the feeling of some of the people because of the fact I come from the deep South.

Mr. MCPHAUL. Have you said anything against Governor Talmadge's outrageous statement against Negroes appearing on television?

Mr. WOOD. I have said many things against Governor Talmadge.
Mr. McPHAUL. I mean, for the record.

Mr. WOOD. I have not been called upon to say anything for the record. The Governor of Georgia is not an issue in this investigation.

Mr. McPHAUL. Lynching is always an issue as far as the Negro is concerned and I would like the record to show that I am a Negro.

Mr. WOOD. If you would find one instance where Mr. Talmadge is identified with a lynching party or any other party designed to deprive any man of his civil rights guaranteed under the Constitution, I am sure that the proper officials of the Government of the United States and the State of Georgia will take due cognizance of that.

Mr. McPHAUL. I just came back from Florida and they don't do it in Florida.

Mr. WOOD. Let us not argue the question. I simply wanted to make the observation that I did make because of statements that have been made in the past.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you presently live in the city of Detroit?

Mr. McPHAUL. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived here?

Mr. McPHAUL. Approximately 30 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your profession or employment?

Mr. McPHAUL. I am a worker.

Mr. TAVENNER. What type of work do you engage in?

Mr. McPHAUL. I am invoking my right under the fifth amendment and I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your employment over a period of the past 10 years?

Mr. McPHAUL. What specific part of the 10 years do you want?

Mr. TAVENNER. Begin at the beginning and end with the end. How long did you say you lived here?

Mr. McPHAUL. Approximately 30 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. I do not want to go back 30 years. Will you go back 10 years to 1942?

Mr. McPHAUL. Invoking the privileges granted me under the fifth amendment of the Constitution, I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were you employed in 1942?

Mr. McPHAUL. Invoking the privileges under the Constitution, I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were you employed between 1945 and 1950?

Mr. McPHAUL. Invoking the privileges under the Constitution, I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, you refuse to tell the committee anything regarding your background of employment?

Mr. McPHAUL. You can draw any conclusion you want. I have answered the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with a person by the name of Richard F. O'Hair?

Mr. McPHAUL. Invoking my privileges under the fifth amendment, I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you present during the course of his testimony on Monday of this week?

Mr. McPHAUL. Will you repeat the question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you present in this courtroom when Mr. O'Hair testified on Monday of this week?

Mr. McPHAUL. No; I was not.

MR. TAVENNER. Mr. O'Hair identified you as a member of the Communist Party. Do you wish to deny or affirm that or explain it?

MR. MCPHAUL. Will you restate the question?

MR. TAVENNER. Will you (addressing official court reporter) read the question?

(The question was read by the official court reporter.)

MR. MCPHAUL. Invoking my rights under the Constitution, and the fifth amendment, I refuse to answer the question.

MR. TAVENNER. Mr. O'Hair testified in this respect with regard to you. "Arthur McPhaul was a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party." Were you at any time a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party?

MR. MCPHAUL. Invoking my rights under the fifth amendment, I refuse to answer the question.

MR. TAVENNER. Were you at any time a member of the Ford unit or any unit within Ford, that is any unit of the Communist Party?

MR. MCPHAUL. Invoking my rights under the fifth amendment, I refuse to answer the question.

MR. TAVENNER. Were you in this room during the testimony on Tuesday, of Walter Scott Dunn?

MR. MCPHAUL. You asked if I was in this courtroom on Tuesday?

MR. TAVENNER. No. Read the question (addressing official court reporter).

(The question was read by the official court reporter.)

MR. MCPHAUL. My subpoena required that—

MR. WOOD. Never mind what your subpoena required. You were asked whether you were here at the time he testified. That is a simple question. Can't you answer it?

MR. MCPHAUL. I was here in answer to the subpoena.

MR. TAVENNER. Were you in this room while he testified?

MR. MCPHAUL. I was in the room part of the time that he testified.

MR. TAVENNER. Did you hear him testify with regard to you in any particular?

MR. MCPHAUL. Under the privilege granted me under the fifth amendment, I refuse to answer that question.

MR. TAVENNER. Let me advise you that Mr. Dunn testified and in his testimony he identified you as a person known to him to be a member of the Communist Party. Was he truthful in that statement or not?

MR. MCPHAUL. Invoking my right under the fifth amendment, I refuse to answer the question.

MR. TAVENNER. Are you a member of the Civil Rights Congress?

MR. MCPHAUL. Invoking my rights under the Constitution and the fifth amendment, I refuse to answer the question.

MR. TAVENNER. It is the committee's information that Mr. William Patterson is the head of the Civil Rights Congress, or at least is a high official of the Civil Rights Congress. Have you discussed the matter of your testimony with Mr. William Patterson?

MR. MCPHAUL. Invoking my right under the fifth amendment, I refuse to answer the question. You asked me something—did you withdraw the question about Mr. Patterson being an official of the Civil Rights Congress?

MR. TAVENNER. No. I asked you the question that according to our information, he was a leader or an official of the Civil Rights Congress. Do you know Mr. Patterson?

Mr. McPHAUL. Invoking my right under the fifth amendment, I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he is an official?

Mr. McPHAUL. According to the book, Genocide, he is editor of that petition. That also says it was published by the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, will you answer the question, please?

Mr. McPHAUL. I have given the members of the committee a copy. I will give you one if you like.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you answer the question? All I am asking is a very simple thing.

Mr. McPHAUL. What was the question?

Mr. WOOD. Do you know him?

Mr. McPHAUL. I thought I answered. I thought that was an answer to that question.

Mr. WOOD. The question is, Do you know Mr. Patterson, the man whose name was given to you?

Mr. McPHAUL. I answered that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. William Patterson.

Mr. McPHAUL. I answered that question, the record will show it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he is an official of the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. McPHAUL. Invoking my privileges under the fifth amendment, I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he has been here in Detroit advising with witnesses who have been subpoenaed to appear here?

Mr. McPHAUL. Invoking my rights under the fifth amendment to the Constitution, I refuse to answer the question. I take it for granted your investigators will know. If not, you are getting good cooperation from the FBI and they know.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position does Mr. William Patterson hold in the Civil Rights Congress, if you know?

Mr. McPHAUL. Invoking my rights under the privileges of the fifth amendment, I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not Mr. Patterson was at one time one of the top-ranking officials of the International Labor Defense?

Mr. McPHAUL. Invoking my rights under the fifth amendment of the Constitution, I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether at one time he was a director of the Abraham Lincoln School in Chicago?

Mr. McPHAUL. I refuse to answer the question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Mary Bray? Miss Mary Bray?

Mr. McPHAUL. I refuse to answer the question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Jack Raskin at any time?

Mr. McPHAUL. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. To your knowledge, did he ever hold the position with the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. McPHAUL. I refuse to answer the question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McPHAUL. I refuse to answer that question invoking my rights under the fifth amendment to the constitution. It is a trick question. If a person said yes, and then you would convict him; and if he said

no, you put a stool pigeon on the stand and say he is, so you are damned if you do and damned if you are not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let us see about that. It is a very simple and plain question as to whether or not you are a member of the Communist Party? It can be answered, as you say, either yes or no, but I fail to see where there is any trick in it. It is just as perfectly plain and normal a question as anyone could be asked.

Mr. McPHAUL. I know the record of this committee.

Mr. JACKSON. And we know the record of the Communist Party.

Mr. McPHAUL. I know your record, too, Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. I hope you make the most of it.

Mr. WOOD. The question is, Will you answer the question?

Mr. McPHAUL. I answered it.

Mr. TAVENNER. From your attitude and disposition of these matters, I assume that you are not willing to answer any questions that this committee might ask you regarding the activities of the Communist Party in this locality, in the city of Detroit?

Mr. McPHAUL. Under the fifth amendment of the Constitution, I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Does the committee have any questions?

Mr. JACKSON. No questions.

Mr. POTTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused?

Mr. TAVENNER. No.

Mr. McPHAUL. There are no Negroes living in Cheboygan, Mr. Potter.

Mr. POTTER. They are invited any time they want to come up.

Mr. McPHAUL. They cannot eat there.

Mr. POTTER. They certainly can.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused?

Mr. TAVENNER. No.

Mr. WOOD. The witness is excused.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. WOOD. It is 10 minutes to 5, counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. There is one statement I want to make to clear up one matter. Will you bear with me just a minute, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. WOOD. Very well.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, there is a matter of identification that I want to clear up. The witness, Wayne Salisbury, mentioned a Jack White. A Jack White has been mentioned by several other witnesses as a member of the Communist Party. It has come to my attention there are several Jack Whites in the community. I want to clear this matter up as well as I can. The address of the Jack White to which witnesses referred, according to the investigation by the committee's staff, in October 7, 1951, was 1449 Collingwood Avenue, in the city of Detroit. So it is quite apparent that the Jack White referred to there is an entirely different person from the Jack White who is connected with some radio stations here.

Mr. WOOD. The committee will stand in recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon at 4:55 p. m. the committee was recessed to reconvene at 10 a. m., Thursday, February 28, 1952.)

COMMUNISM IN THE DETROIT AREA—PART 1

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1952

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Detroit, Mich.

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met pursuant to call at 10 a. m. in room 740, Federal Building, Detroit, Mich., Hon. John S. Wood (chairman), presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood, Donald L. Jackson, and Charles E. Potter.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., assistant counsel; John W. Carrington, clerk; and Donald T. Appell and Jackson Jones, investigators.

Mr. Wood. Let's have order, please. Let the record show that the following members of the subcommittee are present: Messrs. Jackson, Potter, and Wood, constituting a majority of the subcommittee.

I would like to make this little announcement at this time. The subcommittee has just had an executive conference, in which it has been determined that it will be impossible during the remainder of this week for this subcommittee to finish the work that is already outlined by the committee staff. It is the proposal of this committee to recommend to the full committee, upon our return to Washington, that a subcommittee be sent back to the Detroit area at some later date, perhaps, during the week of the 10th of March, for the purpose of finishing the hearing of the witnesses already under subpoena.

Are you ready, now, to proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

STATEMENT OF GEORGE W. CROCKETT AS COUNSEL FOR STANLEY NOWAK

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir. I call Mr. Stanley Nowak.

Mr. CROCKETT. Mr. Chairman, I am appearing on behalf of Mr. Stanley Nowak. My name is George W. Crockett. I received a telephone call from Mrs. Nowak this morning, to the effect that Mr. Nowak is ill with a fever and is unable to appear here this morning. I suggested to her that she get a statement from his physician to that effect and have it here by 2 o'clock this afternoon, which, I am sure, the committee will accept until such time as he is able to appear here. He was supposed to appear on yesterday, and, he was here on yesterday.

Mr. Wood. I am sure we will accept that. It isn't the purpose of this committee to undertake to require the presence of any person

physically unable to appear. We will set a reasonable time for the extension of such subpoena.

MR. CROCKETT. I will get it to you as soon as I receive it, Mr. Chairman.

MR. TAVENNER. Mr. Coleman Young.

MR. WOOD. Mr. Young?

MR. YOUNG. That's right.

MR. WOOD. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn? You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

MR. YOUNG. Yes.

TESTIMONY OF COLEMAN A. YOUNG, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, GEORGE W. CROCKETT, JR.

MR. WOOD. Are you represented by counsel, Mr. Young?

MR. YOUNG. May I get my brief case?

MR. WOOD. Are you represented by counsel?

MR. YOUNG. I am.

MR. CROCKETT. I represent Mr. Young. My name is George W. Crockett, Jr. I am a member of the bar of Michigan and the United States Supreme Court. My office is located in the Cadillac Tower in the city of Detroit. I am appearing as counsel for the witness, Mr. Coleman Young.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name, please, Mr. Young?

MR. YOUNG. Coleman A. Young.

MR. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

MR. YOUNG. May 24, 1918, Tuscaloosa, Ala.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, briefly, what your education training has been?

MR. YOUNG. I am a high school graduate.

MR. TAVENNER. Do you now reside in Detroit?

MR. YOUNG. I do.

MR. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Detroit?

MR. YOUNG. Approximately 30 years.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you give the committee, please, a general background of your employment record, say, over the past 10 years?

MR. YOUNG. Well, I came out of high school and I went to work at Ford Motor Co.—that was in 1937—for about a year and a half. I subsequently worked in a dry-cleaning plant; I worked for the United States Veterans' Administration, at the hospital here; I worked for the post office before I went into the Army. I was discharged from the post office for attempting to organize a union. I went into the Army about a month later. After coming out, I worked for the post office about 2 months. I quit the post office because they refused to give me a leave of absence so that I might work for the union organization, the International Union of United Public Workers; director of program for the Wayne County CIO; State director for the Progressive Party of Michigan; presently, national executive secretary of the National Negro Labor Council.

MR. TAVENNER. What was the last of the employment you had?

MR. YOUNG. I am national executive secretary of the National Negro Labor Council.

MR. TAVENNER. Is that full-time employment?

Mr. YOUNG. It is.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the position you mentioned you had with the organization of the CIO?

Mr. YOUNG. Director of organization for the Wayne County CIO Council.

Mr. TAVENNER. Over what period of time?

Mr. YOUNG. During the period of 1947 and 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Young, I want to state to you in advance of questioning you, that the investigators of the committee have not produced or presented any evidence of Communist Party membership on your part. The purpose in asking you to come here is to inquire into some of the—into the activities of some of the organizations with which you have been connected, to see to what extent, if any, the committee should be interested in them from the standpoint of those manifesting communism. Now, you mentioned—

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Tavenner, I would like to say this: First of all, I have understood, from official pronouncements of this committee, and yourself, that this is a forum; you call it the highest forum in the country, being that of the Congress of the United States. I have been subpoenaed here. I didn't come by my own prerogative.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understand.

Mr. YOUNG. I can only state that in being interviewed and being asked questions, that I hope that I will be allowed to react fully to those questions, and not be expected to react only in such a manner that this committee may desire me. In other words, I might have answers you might not like. You called me here to testify; I am prepared to testify, but, I would like to know from you if I shall be allowed to respond to your questions fully and in my own way.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no objection to your answers, if they are responsive to the questions.

Mr. YOUNG. I will respond.

Mr. TAVENNER. But I desire to ask you the question which I have asked other witnesses: Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. YOUNG. I refuse to answer that question, relying upon my rights under the fifth amendment, and, in light of the fact that an answer to such a question, before such a committee, would be, in my opinion, a violation of my rights under the first amendment, which provides for freedom of speech, sanctity and privacy of political beliefs and associates, and, further, since I have no purpose of being here as a stool pigeon, I am not prepared to give any information on any of my associates or political thoughts.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. YOUNG. For the same reason, I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. You told us you were the executive secretary of the National Negro Congress—

Mr. YOUNG. That word is "Negro," not "Niggra."

Mr. TAVENNER. I said, "Negro." I think you are mistaken.

Mr. YOUNG. I hope I am. Speak more clearly.

Mr. WOOD. I will appreciate it if you will not argue with counsel.

Mr. YOUNG. It isn't my purpose to argue. As a Negro, I resent the slurring of the name of my race.

Mr. WOOD. You are here for the purpose of answering questions.

Mr. YOUNG. In some sections of the country they slur—

Mr. TAVENNER. I am sorry. I did not mean to slur it. I was mistaken in referring to your having said you were the executive secretary of the National Negro Congress; but, I will ask you a question, if you were, at any time in the past, executive secretary of the National Negro Congress?

Mr. YOUNG. I refuse to answer that question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Your position is that to answer any question with relation to your connection with the National Negro Congress might tend to incriminate you, is that your position?

Mr. YOUNG. The National Negro Congress, as I understand it, has been labeled by not only the Justice Department, but by this committee, which also labeled the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as subversive, and I don't intend to discuss any organization that, properly or improperly, has been designated by you or any other committee as subversive.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you, at any time, a field organizer for the National Negro Congress?

Mr. YOUNG. The same answer will apply in regard to the National Negro Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understood you to state—you answered a moment ago that this committee had labeled the NAACP as a subversive.

Mr. YOUNG. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was such action taken?

Mr. YOUNG. I refer you to the Negro Yearbook of 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you refer to any record of the committee which has so designated the NAACP?

Mr. YOUNG. I am sure this committee is in possession of its own records. I would suggest a search of those records.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is on record? You are sure I have evidence of such designation with regard to the NAACP, a national organization?

Mr. YOUNG. I refer you to—

Mr. TAVENNER. There was a local in Hawaii which had some special problem, but, as far as the national organization is concerned, this committee has not so cited it, nor has the Attorney General's office, in my opinion.

Mr. YOUNG. Was Mr. Rankin ever a member of this committee, Congressman Rankin; I refer to Congressman Rankin. He is the person who designated the NAACP, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, as being a subversive organization, and thus preventing them from any early considerations in projects for Negro rights.

Mr. POTTER. Mr. Young, Congressman Rankin is not a member of this committee.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Potter, Congressman Rankin was one of the foremost members of this committee. It is the same committee, following the same purpose.

Mr. POTTER. We are not here to discuss Congressman Rankin. We are here to find out the extent of the Communist activities in this area. You are in a position to help and aid, if you will, but the attitude you are taking is uncooperative to such an investigation.

Mr. YOUNG. I am not here to fight in any un-American activities, because I consider the denial of the right to vote to large numbers of people all over the South un-American, and I consider—

Mr. POTTER. I will join you in the same thing, but, at the same time, a member of the Communist Party is a person who carries on un-American activities.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you consider the activities of the Communist Party un-American?

Mr. YOUNG. I consider the activities of this committee, as it cites people for allegedly being a Communist, as un-American activities.

Mr. WOOD. Just a moment. Your answer is not responsive to the question. He asked if you regarded the activities of the Communist Party as un-American?

Mr. YOUNG. I am not in a position to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with any of the activities of the Communist Party in the city of Detroit?

Mr. YOUNG. I have made it clear, or sought to make it clear—

Mr. TAVENNER. That you might aid the committee, as you suggested awhile ago you would like to do.

Mr. YOUNG. I sought to make it clear that I consider any questions that deal with my political beliefs, or with the beliefs of people I may or may not have been associated with, a violation of my rights under the fifth amendment, and an invasion of my privacy guaranteed me under the first amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I asked you no question regarding your individual views. I asked if you knew of any activities of the Communist Party in this community, which might be of some assistance to this committee in its investigation of un-American activities. I understood from your statement you would like to help us.

Mr. YOUNG. You have me mixed up with a stool pigeon.

Mr. POTTER. I have never heard of anybody stooling in the Boy Scouts.

Mr. YOUNG. I was a member of the organization.

Mr. POTTER. I don't think they are proud of it today.

Mr. YOUNG. I will let the Scouts decide that.

Mr. POTTER. I think they would.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to take you at your word, that you would like to help this committee in its investigation of anything that may be of an un-American character, and one of the things the committee, as I mentioned to you a moment ago, desires you to do is to relate some of the activities of the persons of some organizations with which you have been connected. You are certainly in a position to give that information if you were actually a member of the organization. Now, we are anxious to know about the origin of the organization, of which you are now, I believe, the executive secretary, the National Negro Labor Council.

* Mr. YOUNG. I will tell you about my organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want to try to go back to the beginning. I have asked you about the National Negro Congress, which you have declined to advise us about, and, I want to ask you, further, whether or not you and a group of others were active in the organization of a city-wide veteran council in January 1946, and if there was any connection of any character between it and the National Negro Congress?

Mr. YOUNG. I refuse to answer that question, taking advantage of the privilege granted me under the fifth amendment. However, if you want to know about the National Negro Labor Council, I will tell you about it.

Mr. TAVENNER. We will come to that.

Mr. YOUNG. You are going to tell me about it, is that it?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, no, no. Would it not be correct to say that the Veteran's Council, which was organized in January 1946, was converted into and became the Detroit chapter of the National Negro Congress?

Mr. YOUNG. I have already indicated to you that I have no information for this committee concerning the National Negro Congress. I am willing to discuss my organization, the National Negro Labor Council.

Mr. WOOD. Just answer the questions that are asked. Let's get along with the hearing. He is asking you if it is correct——

Mr. YOUNG. Congressman, you invited me here to testify, and, I intend to testify.

Mr. WOOD. I want you to answer the questions as they are asked.

Mr. YOUNG. I will answer them in my own way.

Mr. WOOD. There isn't but one way to answer them, and that's the right way.

Mr. YOUNG. And, that's the way you want me to answer it.

Mr. WOOD. That is the only truthful way to answer it.

Mr. YOUNG. I am not allowing the committee to put words in my mouth.

Mr. JACKSON. The committee might put some words in your mouth that are a great deal better than the ones you are uttering.

Mr. YOUNG. Sir, you have been making lectures for a long time——

Mr. WOOD. I am not going to allow you to argue. If you want to answer the question, answer; if you don't want to answer it, decline. This is not a vaudeville here; this is serious business.

Mr. YOUNG. I regret not being given the opportunity to answer. You said this was going to be a forum. When the Congressman addresses me, I will expect the courtesy to answer the Congressman.

Mr. JACKSON. As far as I am concerned, you will have opportunity to answer me at any time I say anything to you.

Mr. YOUNG. You just got through addressing me.

Mr. JACKSON. You will have the opportunity to answer any questions I ask.

Mr. YOUNG. Do you have anything to say to me?

Mr. JACKSON. I will have something to say to you in due course.

Mr. YOUNG. I will have something to say to you, too.

Mr. JACKSON. That is your privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you affiliated, at any time, with an organization known as the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America?

Mr. YOUNG. I refuse to answer that question, taking advantage of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. You told us, in giving us the background of your record of employment, that you are now the executive secretary of the National Negro Labor Council?

Mr. YOUNG. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was it formed?

Mr. YOUNG. It was formed in Cincinnati, Ohio, formally organized on October 27 and 28 of the past year. That would be 1951.

Mr. TAVENNER. Nineteen fifty-one?

Mr. YOUNG. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who is its president?

Mr. YOUNG. President William R. Hood, whom you have also subpenaed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there any difference in the objectives of the National Negro Labor Council and the National Negro Congress?

Mr. YOUNG. I am prepared to discuss the objectives and the program of the National Negro Labor Council. I am not prepared to discuss the objectives of the National Negro Congress. If you will separate the question, I will answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why aren't you prepared? Is it you are not familiar with the objectives of the National Negro Congress? What do you mean, by saying you are not prepared?

Mr. YOUNG. As far as the National Negro Congress is concerned, I have stated my objection under the fifth amendment, as well as the first amendment. I have also indicated to you it isn't my intention to discuss here any organization labeled by your committee or any other committee as subversive. I have here a copy of the preamble of the National Negro Labor Council, which will explain its objectives, if you want to hear it.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to have it filed.

Mr. YOUNG. You don't want to hear it, you want to file it.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like for you to tell me wherein it differs from the National Negro Congress.

Mr. YOUNG. Are you a congressman?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, I am not. I had in mind, from the investigation we made, you would know something about the National Negro Congress; in fact, our information has been that you were the field organizer of it, and, if you were, you would be bound to have some knowledge of its objectives, if you worked as an organizer for it.

Mr. YOUNG. If your information comes from stoolpigeons and paid informers, you might have any kind of information.

Mr. WOOD. Well, let's get the information from you. Were you or were you not an organizer for it?

Mr. YOUNG. I have stated, and I restate, I refuse to answer any questions concerning the National Negro Congress, relying upon my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Wherein does the objectives, purposes of your organization, which you are now executive secretary differ from that organization?

Mr. YOUNG. The purposes of the organization which I am now connected with, and that is the National Negro Labor Council, are as follows:

We, the members of the Negro Labor Council, believe that the struggle of the Negro people for first-class citizenship based on economic, political, and social equality is in vain unless we as Negro workers, along with our white allies, are united to protect our people (Negro) against those forces who continue to deny us full citizenship.

Realizing that the old forms of organizations which were dedicated to the fight for first-class citizenship for Negro people have been unable to bring full economic opportunity for the Negro worker in the factory, the mine, the mill, the office, in government; to stop wanton police killings of Negroes throughout the land; to stop mob violence against us; to bring the franchise to our brothers and sisters in the South, and gain our full say in the political life of our country with proper representation in government on all levels; to buy and rent homes everywhere unrestricted; to use the public facilities, restaurants, hotels, and the recreation facilities in town and country, we form the National

Negro Labor Council (NNLC), an organization which unites all Negro workers with other suffering minorities and our allies among the white workers, and base ourselves on rank and file control regardless of age, sex, creed, political beliefs, or union affiliation, and pursue at all times a policy of militant struggle to improve our conditions.

We pledge ourselves to labor unitedly for the principles herein set forth, to perpetuate our councils and work concertedly with other organizations that seek improvement for Negro and other oppressed minorities.

We further pledge ourselves to work unitedly with the trade-unions to bring about greater cooperation between all sections of the Negro people and the trade-union movement; to bring the principles of trade-unionism to the Negro workers everywhere; to aid the trade-unions in the great unfinished task of organizing the South on the basis of fraternity, equality, and unity; to further unity between black and white workers everywhere.

Mr. WOOD. Now, having read and gotten it into the records, will you answer the question asked you, which is, in what respect does it differ from the National Negro Congress?

Mr. YOUNG. I take it this committee is in possession of information on the program of the National Negro Congress. You are now, as of my having read our preamble, in possession of information on the program of the National Negro Labor Council——

Mr. WOOD. You are making a very fine assumption.

Mr. YOUNG. I am sure you are competent to judge the question for yourself.

Mr. WOOD. I am asking you for the difference.

Mr. YOUNG. I refuse to answer the question on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. WOOD. Do you refuse to answer that question?

Mr. YOUNG. That would apply to any question, that question and any other question that has within it reference to the National Negro Congress.

Mr. WOOD. I want an answer. Do you refuse to answer the question asked you?

Mr. YOUNG. Will you repeat what specific question you are talking about?

Mr. WOOD. The question asked you.

What is the question? Read the question to him.

(The question was read by official court reporter.)

Mr. YOUNG. As this committee is in possession of a copy——

Mr. WOOD. Let's not assume things.

Mr. YOUNG. I am trying to answer the question, if you will let me.

Mr. WOOD. No, you are not. You are trying to evade my question.

Mr. YOUNG. You will have to wait for my answer in order to determine whether I am evading or not. I haven't finished.

Mr. WOOD. You are assuming what you don't know.

Mr. YOUNG. You are assuming what I am going to say.

Mr. WOOD. I want you to answer in what way the preamble you read, of the National Negro Labor Council, differs, if any, in respect to the National Negro Congress.

Mr. YOUNG. I would inform you, also, the word is Negro.

Mr. WOOD. I am sorry. If I made a different pronouncement of it, it is due to my inability to use the language any better than I do. I am trying to use it properly.

Mr. YOUNG. It may be due to your southern background.

Mr. WOOD. I am not ashamed of my southern background. For your information, out of the 112 Negro votes cast in the last election in the little village from which I come, I got 112 of them. That ought to be a complete answer of that. Now, will you answer the question?

Mr. YOUNG. You are through with it now, is that it?

Mr. WOOD. I don't know.

Mr. YOUNG. I happen to know, in Georgia Negro people are prevented from voting by virtue of terror, intimidation, and lynchings. It is my contention you would not be in Congress today if it were not for the legal restrictions on voting on the part of my people.

Mr. WOOD. I happen to know that is a deliberate false statement on your part.

Mr. YOUNG. My statement is on the record.

Mr. WOOD. Mine is, too.

Mr. YOUNG. I will stand by my statement.

Mr. JACKSON. I suggest that the witness answer the question directed by counsel.

Mr. WOOD. Now, will you answer the question asked?

Mr. YOUNG. If you will let me finish my answer, I will.

Mr. WOOD. If you will answer the question, I will get a soap box and let you make a speech; if you will just answer the question.

Mr. YOUNG. I will join you on a soap box. You have been doing pretty good in answering other questions. If you have a constitution of the National Negro Congress, I will be glad to read your copy and point out to you what difference exist between the two organizations.

Mr. WOOD. Don't you know, without reading it?

Mr. YOUNG. I have already answered it.

Mr. WOOD. Please answer.

Mr. YOUNG. I refuse to answer the question in connection with the National Negro Congress, taking advantage of my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WOOD. Are you refusing to answer whether you know what it contains?

Mr. YOUNG. I consider I have answered the question.

Mr. WOOD. All right.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did the National Negro Congress cease to function, if it did?

Mr. YOUNG. At the risk of being monotonous, I refuse to answer any question referring to or having to do with the National Negro Congress, by reason of the rights under the fifth amendment. However, I am prepared to discuss the National Negro Labor Council.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask you, if the National Negro Labor Council is merely a reactivation of the National Negro Congress?

Mr. YOUNG. I will answer you this: The National Negro Labor Council is an organization consisting of Negro trade-unions, in the main, and of white trade-unions, also, who agree with our program, which was formed, as I told you, in Cincinnati, October 27 and 28, of 1951.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, will you answer the question, please?

Mr. YOUNG. The answer to the question is that the National Negro Labor Council is an offshoot of no organization. It is a completely new organization, formed with a new program, a program of bringing together, in the struggle for Negro rights, the organized strength of

the Negro people and the trade-union movement: an organization which believes that in order to gain these rights, it is necessary to maintain constant struggle; an organization primarily interested in, among other things, the fight for the ballot for the people in the South, and that includes the State of Georgia and the State of Virginia, where, I understand, you are from, counsel.

Mr. WOOD. Please give us credit for knowing we are from the southern section of the country. I think this committee is familiar with it.

Mr. YOUNG. I am, too, counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. In your answer, you referred to it not being an offshoot of any other organization. My question is whether or not it is, in fact, a reactivation of the National Negro Congress?

Mr. YOUNG. I have indicated to you that, relying on my rights under the fifth amendment, I refuse to answer any question concerning the National Negro Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you advise the committee to what extent, within your knowledge, the Civil Rights Congress in this area has assisted the Communist Party in attainment of any of its objectives?

Mr. YOUNG. I have indicated to you, to this committee, I am no stool-pigeon. I refuse to answer any question concerning organizations labeled as subversive, relying on my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then, when you stated earlier in your testimony that you would like to help this committee to examine into un-American activities, you meant to put limitations upon that?

Mr. YOUNG. I would say that the committee has put limitations upon an investigation into un-American activities. This committee has failed to investigate the Moore slaying in——

Mr. WOOD. Is that your reason for refusing to answer the questions asked you?

Mr. YOUNG. I am ready to point out to this committee, taking for granted you may not know about some of the atrocities that have taken place against the Negro people in this country——

Mr. WOOD. I asked, if that is the reason you refuse to answer the questions.

Mr. YOUNG. I merely submit that you investigate these un-American activities.

Mr. WOOD. At the moment, we are investigating un-American activities we are asking you about and have been asking you about. Do you plan to answer them?

Mr. YOUNG. I consider it an un-American activity to pry into a person's private thoughts, to pry into a person's associates; I consider that an un-American activity.

Mr. WOOD. Is that your reason for not answering?

Mr. YOUNG. I am unwilling to engage in un-American activities——

Mr. WOOD. Is that your reason?

Mr. YOUNG. My reason has been clearly stated: I rely upon the fifth amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you been affiliated, in the past, with the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. YOUNG. I rely upon the fifth amendment of the Constitution of the United States, and refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee is informed that various petitions were prepared by the Civil Rights Congress, protesting the indictment of the 12 Communist leaders in New York City, and that you

were one of the signers, a signer of one of the petitions. I am not interested, particularly, in whether you were or not. I am more interested in ascertaining the circumstances under which your signature, or that of any other person, was obtained. Will you tell us that?

Mr. YOUNG. Sir, I have explained to you my refusal to answer such questions. I think it would be quite foolish on my part, in view of the hysteria stirred up by this committee; in view of the many bills having to do with people's political association, etc., to indicate to you on any question any information which might amount to testifying against myself. Therefore, under the fifth amendment, I refuse to answer.

Mr. POTTER. If there is any hysteria in this country, it is generated by people like yourself, and not by this committee.

Mr. YOUNG. Congressman, neither me or none of my friends were out at this plant the other day brandishing a rope in the face of John Cherveny. I can assure you I have had no part in the hanging or bombing of Negroes in the South. I have not been responsible for firing a person from his job for what I think are his beliefs, or what somebody thinks he believes in, and things of that sort. That is the hysteria that has been swept up by this committee.

Mr. POTTER. Today, there are 104,000 casualties in Korea testifying to this fact of hysteria you so blandly mention, which is a cold-blooded conspiracy, which is killing American boys, and, you, as members of the Communist Party of the United States, are just as much a part of the international conspiracy as the Communists in North Korea who are killing men there.

Mr. YOUNG. I see you have on a decoration, and, I will inform you, I am also a veteran of the Armed Forces. I know you did your part. I want you to know I didn't have any part in sending anybody to Korea.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you approve of the action of the United States in Korea?

Mr. YOUNG. I refuse to allow this committee to pry into my personal and private opinions. I got some opinion on it, however.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me see if your opinions have been private in that respect. According to the Daily Worker of July 24, 1950, you signed a statement issued by the Council on African Affairs against the United States' policy in Korea, is that correct?

Mr. YOUNG. I refuse to answer any such question, relying upon my rights under the fifth amendment. What was the organization you mentioned?

Mr. TAVENNER. Council on African Affairs.

Mr. YOUNG. I would like for the record to show that organization has also been labeled as subversive.

Mr. JACKSON. Is that positively on the record?

Mr. YOUNG. Very definitely it is.

Mr. JACKSON. Let's make it very certainly a point, it has been labeled subversive, and there will be no doubt about it.

Mr. WOOD. It might also, with equal propriety, be injected in the record that the Daily Worker has been labeled as subversive by the Attorney General of the United States.

Mr. TAVENNER. May I ask the witness, that prior to January 24, 1950, did you know that the Council on African Affairs had been

labeled a Communist organization by the Attorney General of the United States?

Mr. YOUNG. I refuse to answer the question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you attended Communist Party meetings?

Mr. YOUNG. I refuse to answer that question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think, you have, from time to time, been interested in political meetings in this area and the area around Detroit, have you not?

Mr. YOUNG. I am interested in political meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a candidate for office?

Mr. YOUNG. In 1948, I ran for State senator on the Progressive Party ticket. At that time, I was also State director of the Progressive Party.

Mr. JACKSON. What was the verdict of the people in that election?

Mr. YOUNG. The verdict wasn't as good as your own. I wasn't elected, if that's what you mean.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you confer with Pat Toohey, and did you receive support of his organization in your campaign? By organization, I mean, the Communist Party.

Mr. YOUNG. I have indicated I refuse to answer any such questions under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a banquet on May 17, 1941, given by the Communist Party of Michigan, to welcome Pat Toohey as the new secretary of the Communist Party of Michigan?

Mr. YOUNG. I refuse to answer any such questions under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a meeting in the Mirror Ballroom, 2940 Woodward Avenue, on January 18, 1942, sponsored by the Communist Party of Michigan, and referred to as the Lenin Memorial Meeting and Rally for Victory?

Mr. YOUNG. I refuse to answer any such questions under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to know if you performed any services for the Communist Party, and, if so, how it was obtained, how you were induced to give it, in connection with the appearance in Detroit of Benjamin J. Davis in 1948?

Mr. YOUNG. I refuse to answer any such question, under the privileges of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Didn't you introduce him at a public meeting on July 27, 1948, at which time he spoke and made the statement "I am proud to be an American, a Negro, and a Communist"?

Mr. YOUNG. For the same reason, I refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. In speaking of un-American activities, which you said you would like to help the committee with, do you think it would be giving aid and comfort to the Communist Party, and assisting them in the attainment of its objectives, if people, with responsible positions in the community such as that which you held at that time, would actively support meetings at which known Communist members, such as Benjamin J. Davis were present, and where it was expected that statements of the character which I read to you would be made?

Mr. YOUNG. Are you asking me a suppositional question? If you are, and want me to suppose, I will. I think that any meeting in which

the first Negro councilman ever elected to the office in the State of New York were to attend would be of interest to a great number of Negroes. It would be to the credit of any party if that Negro were elected under the label of that party. That's my supposition in answer to your question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that regardless of whether or not he was elected on the Communist Party ticket, as a part of the Communist Party movement, if you knew it to be such?

Mr. YOUNG. Well, supposing again, I would think that Negro people would be more interested in what a given candidate's program might happen to be, and what he was going to do to improve the conditions of Negro people, than any label tagged on to him by such a committee as yourselves and others.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not speaking of the committee. Benjamin J. Davis was an open member of the Communist Party; elected on the Communist Party ticket. He didn't have to be labeled. He labeled himself. He said, definitely, in this meeting——

Mr. YOUNG. Personally, I would affirm any candidate for office by virtue of the program on which he ran, and on that basis only; his program and his actions; these are the things which concern me as a voter.

Mr. TAVENNER. Therefore, if the Communist Party carried out its avowed objectives, its avowed program of working through mass organization, that is, by selecting groups of people and appealing to the particular items which that group is interested in, and organizing them as a Communist-front organization, because, that's what those organizations are, you would support such a thing, knowing that it is a Communist-front organization?

Mr. YOUNG. You can——

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that the sense and sum and substance of what you told us?

Mr. YOUNG. You can draw the substance and sum you wish from my last answer, but, under the fifth amendment, I am not answering any question dealing with the Communist Party, and, I think, for pretty obvious reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. You state, you would sustain anyone who took a position which was favorable to the particular thing you were interested in?

Mr. YOUNG. When I go in the ballot box, as of now, I have privacy: I vote as I see fit. Are you trying to invade the privacy of my ballot box?

Mr. TAVENNER. Not at all.

Mr. YOUNG. I don't see why you ask these questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is a very important question.

Mr. YOUNG. You asked me how I vote.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is a very important matter to determine to what extent the Communists, through Communist-front organizations, are endeavoring to injure the economics of this area, the religion of this area, the social life of this area, and, in fact, the whole political structure as we know it in this country.

Mr. YOUNG. Well, I leave that to you.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is that that we are attempting to get at.

Mr. YOUNG. I leave that to this committee to get it.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is that we are asking you to help us with.

Mr. YOUNG. I think I have indicated what my reaction to that is.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a Communist Party meeting held at 2705 Joy Road, on March 18, 1950, in celebration of International Women's Day?

Mr. YOUNG. I previously indicated my refusal to answer any questions of that nature on the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a meeting of the Communist Party of Michigan on January 8, 1942, at which Pat Toohey, secretary of the Communist Party of Michigan, was a speaker?

Mr. YOUNG. I refuse to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Pat Toohey personally?

Mr. YOUNG. I refuse to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I think that is all.

Mr. JACKSON. I have several questions, Mr. Chairman. I assume, Mr. Young, that you believe in peace.

Mr. YOUNG. Do you believe in peace?

Mr. JACKSON. I do.

Mr. YOUNG. I am for peace, too.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you believe that it is possible, in the present conflict, between the Soviet Union and the United States, to work out a just and lasting peace at the conference table?

Mr. YOUNG. I hope that it is.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you feel that it is possible for the United States and the Soviet Union to coexist side by side in the same world?

Mr. YOUNG. If you mean by that, do I hope that the United States and the Soviet Union will not go to war, that is the other side of the question.

Mr. JACKSON. That is the obverse side. I certainly hope so. Do you believe in a more positive manner that it is possible for the Soviet Union and the United States to exist side by side in a peaceful world?

Mr. YOUNG. I have indicated that I fervently hope that that is possible.

Mr. JACKSON. I am sure that we are all in full agreement on that point. However, Mr. Stalin has said that it is inconceivable that the Soviet Union and the United States shall long exist side by side in the same world. I think that is one of the very many clear warnings that we have had as to the ultimate goal of communism. Implementation of that Communist policy is underway today on a dozen different fronts. Some of it is in the Armed Forces, some of it economic, some of it political, and some of it social. I have frequently expressed the opinion and I express it again, that I feel that anyone who takes up cudgels of the Communist Party today or lends any aid and assistance to the Communist Party in this country, in the light of what has developed over the course of the past 2 or 3 years, is in effect wielding a bayonet as efficiently as a Communist soldier in Korea is. Is there any portion of that with which you agree?

Mr. YOUNG. I will say that I am taking up the cudgels for the rights for full equality now and not 5 years from now, for my people. These are the cudgels that I am taking up. I don't know when you say "anybody" broadly whether you are inferring me or anything else.

Mr. JACKSON. I am not inferring anything. I am asking your opinion on that particular statement. As far as the war against fascism is concerned there has been more sacrifice made by the people at this table probably than by the majority of the witnesses who have

appeared before the committee and refused to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment. Congressman Potter has made a tremendous sacrifice in the fight against fascism.

Mr. YOUNG. The fight is still on.

Mr. JACKSON. We have acknowledged that out in California. The people——

Mr. YOUNG. Some of the victims of this committee——

Mr. JACKSON. The people of your race have every privilege of the franchise. I do not think you can attack California or the California Member on that basis.

Mr. YOUNG. Can I say something on that?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes.

Mr. YOUNG. Our San Francisco council, and we are a national organization, the National Negro Labor Council, just 1 month ago was successful in breaking down the Jim Crow hiring practices of the T System Street Railway that exists in San Francisco. That company prior to that time discriminated against Negroes as bus drivers and also within the same month they were successful, after a long fight, in breaking down the discrimination that Sears, Roebuck, the company, held against Negro saleswomen. You can't tell me that Jim Crow doesn't exist in California. There is a whole lot wrong with California that has got to be straightened out.

Mr. JACKSON. You said that there is a whole lot wrong with all the world.

Mr. YOUNG. I am interested in the United States and not the whole world.

Mr. JACKSON. Let us not lose freedom——

Mr. YOUNG. That is the point, Mr. Jackson, I am fighting for freedom myself.

Mr. JACKSON. So am I. Let us not lose individual freedom and human dignity by sacrificing it to an order of things which has filled concentration camps to overflowing. If you think of the lot of the Negro who have in eighty-some-odd years come forward to a much better position——

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Jackson, we are not going to wait 80 more years, I will tell you that.

Mr. JACKSON. Neither are the Communists. They say they are going to overthrow the Government by force and violence and effect all the changes immediately.

Mr. YOUNG. If you are telling me to wait 80 years, I will tell you I am not prepared to wait and neither are the Negroes.

Mr. JACKSON. Neither is the Communist Party.

Mr. YOUNG. I am speaking for the Negro people and for myself. Are you speaking for the Communist Party?

Mr. JACKSON. I am speaking of the Communist Party.

Mr. YOUNG. I thought you were speaking for the Communist Party.

Mr. JACKSON. No. I think there are many in this room who are better qualified to speak for the Communist Party than I am. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. Mr. Young, I believe in your statement that you said that you were in the service fighting fascism during the last war.

Mr. YOUNG. That is right.

Mr. POTTER. Then it is proper to assume that you are opposed to totalitarianism in any form, as I am.

Mr. YOUNG. I fought and I was in the last war, Congressman, that is correct, as a Negro officer in the Air Corps. I was arrested and placed under arrest and held in quarters for 3 days in your country because I sought to get a cup of coffee in a United States Officers Club that was restricted for white officers only. That is my experience in the United States Army.

Mr. POTTER. Let me say this, I have the highest admiration, yes, the highest admiration for the service that was performed by Negro soldiers during the last war. They performed brilliantly.

Mr. YOUNG. I am sure the Negro soldiers appreciate your admiration, Mr. Potter.

Mr. POTTER. At the same time, while I am just as much opposed to nazism and fascism as you are, I am opposed to totalitarianism in any form. As you well know the Communist International as dictated from Soviet Russia is probably the most stringent form of totalitarian government in the world today. In case, and God forbid, that it ever happens, but in case the Soviet Union should attack the United States would you serve as readily to defend our country in case of such eventuality as you did during the last war?

Mr. YOUNG. As I told you, Congressman, nobody has had to question the patriotism, the military valor of the Negro people. We have fought in every war.

Mr. POTTER. I am not talking about the Negro people, I am talking about you.

Mr. YOUNG. I am coming to me. I am a part of the Negro people. I fought in the last war and I would unhesitatingly take up arms against anybody that attacks this country. In the same manner I am now in process of fighting against what I consider to be attacks and discrimination against my people. I am fighting against un-American activities such as lynchings and denial of the vote. I am dedicated to that fight and I don't think I have to apologize or explain it to anybody, my position on that.

Mr. POTTER. Mr. Young, you have many, many groups in this country that have the same purpose as what you are sponsoring here. Let me tell you this, the thing that you claim is your objective will not be accomplished by men like yourself.

Mr. YOUNG. That is your opinion.

Mr. POTTER. Absolutely that is my opinion and that is all.

Mr. WOOD. Are there any further questions, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. I have one further question, Mr. Chairman. Have you at any time been chairman or in any other way connected with the Veterans' Affairs Committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. YOUNG. I refuse to answer that or any similar question under my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused from further attendance before the committee?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Committee will stand in recess for 15 minutes and the witness is excused.

(The witness was excused.)

(A short recess was taken.)

Mr. WOOD. Let us have order, please. Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. I would like to call Mr. William R. Hood.

Mr. WOOD. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn?

Mr. HOOD. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Do you solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HOOD. Yes.

**TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM R. HOOD, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL,
ERNEST GOODMAN**

Mr. WOOD. Are you represented by counsel, Mr. Hood?

Mr. HOOD. I am.

Mr. WOOD. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. GOODMAN. I am Ernest Goodman of the Cadillac Tower, Detroit, Mich.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Mr. HOOD. My name is William R. Hood.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Hood?

Mr. HOOD. I was born in 1910, but I categorically refuse to tell you where I was born. My father and mother are still in Georgia. I will write the name to the committee. My uncle was killed by a mob. I don't want them persecuted. I talked with my mother already and the hysteria created here in this Georgia city—with my father in business and my sister a school teacher in Georgia, I don't want them persecuted or to have reprisals as the result of my behavior in the city of Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Detroit?

Mr. HOOD. I came to Detroit in 1942.

Mr. TAVENNER. How have you been employed?

Mr. HOOD. I traveled for a life insurance company in the State of Georgia.

Mr. TAVENNER. I meant here in the State of Michigan.

Mr. HOOD. I worked at Chevrolet Gear & Axle, I think it was a short period in 1942 and I left because of discriminatory practices. They wouldn't promote or upgrade me. I was hired by the Ford Motor Car Co., January 26, 1943.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you have been working there since?

Mr. HOOD. I have been working for the Ford Motor Car Co. with the exception of the time I have been the representative and recording secretary of the largest union in the world, the UAW-CIO, Ford local 600.

Mr. TAVENNER. During what period of time did you occupy that position?

Mr. HOOD. I have occupied that position for 4 years and will be running for my fifth term in office this coming June.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am sorry, I did not get the beginning of your service.

Mr. HOOD. I was elected recording secretary of local 600 4 years ago. I hope I will be elected for the fifth time this June in spite of this committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Daily Worker of September 1, 1951, carries an article on page 1 to the effect that you spoke in New York City on behalf of Louis Weinstock who had been indicted under the Smith Act. Is it correct that you did speak in behalf of Louis Weinstock at that time?

Mr. HOOD. I refuse to answer about my appearance in New York in behalf of Mr. Weinstock under the privileges of the fifth amendment; however, I might tell you that I am very sympathetic toward minority people and other people that are kicked around in this Nation.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you sympathetic to Mr. Weinstock, who was charged, under the Smith Act, with advocating the use of force and violence in the overthrow of the Government of this country?

Mr. HOOD. I do not advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence. The methods and approaches used by the Government in trying to arrive at certain conclusions—I refuse to answer in respect to Mr. Weinstock on the basis of the privileges granted me under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Mr. Weinstock live in Detroit at any time?

Mr. HOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the basis of the immunities which I have under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know on September 12, 1951, that Louis Weinstock had been a functionary of the Communist Party for a number of years?

Mr. HOOD. I refuse to answer any questions similar to that in respect to any individual's participation in anything, under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of having sympathy, as I understand it, for Weinstock?

Mr. HOOD. I didn't say I had sympathy for Weinstock. I said I have sympathy for persecuted people in America and all over the world.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you consider that Weinstock was being persecuted?

Mr. HOOD. I refuse to answer any question with respect to Weinstock under the immunities of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. According to the Daily Worker of November 19, 1951, page 2, you were reported as being among the speakers at the Twentieth Anniversary National Conference of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born. Did you make such an address on that occasion?

Mr. HOOD. I refuse to testify to this committee about any speeches I made other than those speeches that I made to my activity in local 600 as a functionary of the National Negro Labor Council for which I thought I was here, according to the press releases, anyway, yesterday.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you willing to tell the committee whether or not you were approached, and if so by whom, to assist in the meeting that I referred to, the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born?

Mr. HOOD. I think it logically follows that the question asked me now would be refused on the basis of my privileges and on the basis of your first question—on the basis of the privileges granted me under the Constitution of the United States and the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you refuse to answer?

Mr. HOOD. I refuse to answer and I so indicated in my remark. Perhaps you didn't hear me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee whether Abner W. Berry, to your knowledge, was active in the work of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born or at least that branch of it which was in the area of Detroit?

Mr. HOOD. I refuse to answer. I could say I don't know but I refuse to answer on the basis of the privileges granted me under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did I understand you to say to begin with that you did not know?

Mr. HOOD. I am not going to use it—I don't know. I don't. I said under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Privately you are telling me you do not know but for the record you will not answer.

Mr. HOOD. I say for the record that that question—I don't know what you are trying to lead it into. But I have certain privileges which I will clothe myself with on the basis of the experiences that I have had of this committee many of which are very, very penetrating to my heart, for example, calling a Negro in the Congress of the United States a black s—of-a-b—. I have nothing but utter contempt for a group like that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you consider that that is in any way responsive to any question that I asked you? Are you not trying deliberately to go beyond the inquiry of this committee for the purpose of creating a scene? Is that your purpose?

Mr. HOOD. I would like very much for the committee to categorically understand that the line of questioning you have given me and my answers are certainly predicated on some of my experiences in America which I think this committee should be cognizant of and perfectly willing to do something about. There is something happening in America which evidently you do not know about which is un-American.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then you are not willing to give this committee any information relating to the subject of this inquiry, which is communism in Detroit?

Mr. HOOD. You ask me your questions and I will decide at that time whether I will answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have asked you a question.

Mr. HOOD. What is the question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Abner Berry—

Mr. HOOD. I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me finish the question.

Mr. HOOD. You have already asked it and now my mind is refreshed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Your mind is refreshed?

Mr. HOOD. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your decision?

Mr. HOOD. My decision is that on the question of Abner Berry with respect to some civil rights outfit in Detroit, I refuse to answer.

Mr. POTTER. Do you know the gentleman?

Mr. HOOD. I refuse to answer whether I know Abner Berry under my privileges, logically concluding that you will go into a million other things.

Mr. POTTER. When the question was first asked you, you said, on the side, "I don't know the man."

Mr. HOOD. I didn't say anything of that nature. If you ask me whether I said it, I think I am intelligent enough to answer you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let's get the record clear, do you know him.

Mr. HOOD. I refuse to answer for the privileges that I have. I told you I am no stool pigeon, and just like Mr. Young told you, if you know that I know him let the record show it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that the basis for your answer?

Mr. HOOD. My privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. POTTER. But knowing this gentleman, do you feel that might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. HOOD. I am clothed with certain privileges. I have the prerogative to call on them when I so desire under the amendment, which evidently the framers of the Constitution making this amendment certainly figured at some time under tyrannical and hysterical conditions a person would use them.

Mr. POTTER. If you do not know this gentleman then certainly there will be nothing incriminating in answering that question.

Mr. HOOD. The question of conclusions is left to me. I am here as the witness and not you.

Mr. POTTER. You have been debating this question.

Mr. HOOD. I refuse to answer. I am not debating and I so indicated in my previous statement that I made, Congressman Potter.

Mr. POTTER. I will not argue. That is all right. I am a very tolerant man.

Mr. HOOD. So am I tolerant. All in spite of what has been heaped on me.

Mr. POTTER. There are many people who have had adversities.

Mr. HOOD. Not as many as the Negro people in America.

Mr. POTTER. I have nothing further.

Mr. TAVENNER. According to the Michigan Worker, page 10, May 21, 1950, you were one of those who protested the prosecution of Eugene Dennis, according to our information. Is that correct?

Mr. HOOD. I refuse to answer any questions with respect to Eugene Dennis.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why?

Mr. HOOD. Under the privileges of the fifth amendment, which I have aforementioned. If it is not monotonous I will tell you every time. I said "afore-mentioned" for the conservation of time.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are reported having been a sponsor of the Mid-Century Conference for Peace held in Detroit in May 1950, is that correct?

Mr. HOOD. I refuse to answer that question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me explain, before you give your final answer, I am interested in knowing the circumstances under which your support of that matter was obtained if it was obtained. Does that change your answer?

Mr. HOOD. I don't think it would, based upon my knowledge of this committee. I don't think it would change it, counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. As the recording secretary of the CIO, Local 600, UAW—I seem to have it backwards—were you required to sign a non-Communist affidavit?

Mr. HOOD. I was, counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you sign it?

Mr. HOOD. I did, sir, for four consecutive years. I have been elected and I hope to sign it again. I hope I will be elected.

Mr. TAVENNER. In view of that, may I ask whether at the time you signed the affidavit you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HOOD. I was not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you been a member at any time since the time you first signed that?

Mr. HOOD. I have not been a member of the Communist Party from the time I first signed it.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee has information indicating that in 1947 you were issued a 1947 card, No. 68126 of the Communist Party.

Mr. HOOD. It is a damned lie.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HOOD. I have already answered that question. As a Negro-American, based upon this committee's action, I refuse to testify about my past action in respect to the question that you asked me, under the fifth amendment. That is the answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. I do not understand your answer. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HOOD. I told you I refused as a Negro American particularly for reasons of my own. I refuse to answer that question under the fifth amendment. I refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you say you refuse to answer for reasons of your own, to what are you referring? Are you referring to the fifth amendment or some other reason?

Mr. HOOD. Counsel, will you please phrase your question again? Will you repeat the question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you read the question?

(The question was read by the official court reporter.)

Mr. HOOD. I am referring to the fifth amendment. I am not a lawyer but I said the fifth amendment. These are my own reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then if I understand your testimony correctly, you denied that you have been a member of the Communist Party at any time within the past 4 years, which is the period of time you have been the recording secretary of the UAW but you refuse to answer whether or not you have ever been a member of the Communist Party, is that your testimony?

Mr. HOOD. I refuse to answer.

Mr. JACKSON. I move that the witness be directed to answer the question.

Mr. GOODMAN. Just one moment, please.

Mr. HOOD. I refuse to answer any question as to whether or not I have been a member of the Communist Party previous to 1947.

Mr. WOOD. In view of the fact that the witness has testified that he was not a member of the Communist Party from 1947 to the present time, this Chair holds that the question as to whether or not he has ever been a member of the Communist Party is pertinent and directs the witness to answer the question.

Mr. HOOD. I refuse to answer the question under the immunities of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Hood, according to the Daily Worker of October 23, 1951, page 3, you are said to have been a sponsor of a dinner at 13 Astor Place, New York City, to be given on October 26, 1951, for the defense of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and sponsored by the trade-union committee to defend Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. If it is true that you were one of the sponsors of that dinner, I would like to know how your sponsorship was obtained.

Mr. HOOD. I refuse to answer under the privileges of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee is also informed through notices in the Daily Worker of December 5, 1951, on page 2 and in the same paper of September 10, 1951, page 3, that you were scheduled as a speaker at a rally to be held in St. Nicholas Arena in New York City on September 10, 1951, for the repeal of the Smith Act. Do you recall whether or not you spoke on such occasion?

Mr. HOOD. I refuse to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Hood, the Washington, D. C., Evening Star of October 30, 1951, on page 7, carried a paid advertisement which was an open letter to J. Howard McGrath, Attorney General of the United States, protesting the jailing of four trustees of the bail fund of the Civil Rights Congress. Your name appears as one of the signers to that open letter. Will you tell the committee who solicited your signature and what interest was involved in soliciting your signature, if it was so obtained?

Mr. HOOD. I refuse to answer under the privileges of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee what you know, if anything, regarding the bail fund plan for use of members of the Communist Party which existed within the Civil Rights Congress or any other group?

Mr. HOOD. The bail right fund?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, bail fund.

Mr. HOOD. What is that?

Mr. TAVENNER. According to the paid advertisement from which it appears that you were a signer, a protest was made regarding the jailing of the trustees of the bail fund of the Civil Rights Congress. I am asking you now that you tell us what you know about the use of bail funds by the Civil Rights Congress. If I have not made it plain, I will break it down.

Mr. HOOD. I think I understand your question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will break it down a little more if you would like.

Mr. HOOD. There is no necessity for it. I refuse to answer it on the basis of the immunities of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. I have no questions.

Mr. POTTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. The witness is excused from further attendance and a recess will be taken until 2 o'clock.

(The witness was excused.)

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p. m., the hearing was recessed until 2 p. m. this same day.)

AFTER RECESS

Mr. Wood. The committee will be in order.

By direction of the subcommittee conducting these hearings, I desire to read into the record the following communication that has just been received from Rev. Malcolm Gray Dade, D. D., rector of St. Cyprian's Episcopal Church of Detroit, Mich.

BACKGROUND

Born in New Bedford, Mass.

Educated—Williston Academy; University of Pennsylvania; Lincoln University, Pennsylvania; the Episcopal Theological School affiliated with Harvard University.

Rector, St. Cyprian's Episcopal Church, Detroit, Mich., for past 16 years.

Formerly assisted at Christ Church, Cambridge, Mass., the church where George Washington attended.

Father is Attorney I. C. Dade of New Bedford, Mass., who was the son of a slave, born in Virginia, and is the only living charter member of the New Bedford Bar Association.

AFFILIATIONS

Board of Detroit American Red Cross.

Represented Episcopal Church World Conference in Holland, 1939.

Former member executive committee of the Diocese of Michigan, highest governing body of the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Michigan.

Founder, President, Westside Human Relations Committee.

Grand Chaplain, Prince Hall Masons of Michigan.

Appointed by Mayor Van Antwerp on skid row committee.

Appointed by Mayor Jeffries on interracial committee.

Appointed by Mayor Cobo on loyalty commission.

Honorary degree, Wilberforce University.

The disparaging remarks expressed yesterday by a clergyman before the Un-American Activities Committee makes imperative a statement by a minister of the Gospel of Christ, of the true feelings of the Negro religious community regarding communism.

Now is the time for every American, Hebrew, Protestant, and Catholic, to stand up and be counted for true Americanism. Because I have received innumerable blessings and opportunities first as an American, and secondly as a Negro, we want to point up the position of the church with communism.

The Episcopal Church, my faith, is a member of the Lambeth Conference, a world-wide body composed of more than 350 bishops of the Anglican communions, meeting in July and August 1948, stated in no uncertain terms, the church's conflict with communism. The conference recognized as so many religious leaders of various faiths do, that communism is most devilish, because it assumes virtues going in the wrong direction.

The Communists expected that Negroes would be taken in, particularly church people, because communism professes to accept men regardless of race, into membership. But the Negro church looked far down the road, to perceive, that the means used concealed devious ends, a godless society. Neither the Negro church nor its membership were fooled or won over. For deep in the very marrow of the Negroes' bones and roots, is a sincere love for God and a tested loyalty to his country. He knows no other homeland to call his own than the United States of America. When its security is threatened, he closes ranks with his fellow Americans.

From the leadership in the days of the late Rev. William H. Peck, most outstanding Negro leader, minister of Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church down to the present leadership of the Rt. Rev. George W. Baber of Detroit, Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Mrs. Bethune, Dr. Bunche, and others, he will always work for his civil rights within the framework of the Constitution and with final appeal to the highest courts of the land. Every Negro man, woman, and child knows that from the days of slavery to the present, the Negro church has preached the preciousness of individuality, black and white under God because we are all God's children. At the same time the Negro church has openly been the one meeting place for rousing and vigorous protest,

political and social, toward achieving full integration in the American life as a Christian virtue and a political privilege in our country.

For these positive reasons, the Negro disapproves any feeling for communism. He is looking forward to the realization of the American goal and dream, the family of strong brothers, friendly neighbors working together for a real democracy under God.

(Signed) Rev. MALCOLM G. DADE.

Are you ready to proceed?

Mr. TAVENNER. I'd like to call Mr. Stanley Nowak again.

Mr. CROCKETT. I am appearing for Senator Nowak. Senator Nowak is ill and I assured you at this time I would have a statement from his physician. I have this statement which I shall give to committee counsel to examine, then I ask that it be made a part of the record.

I am informed by the senator himself that his doctor visited him this morning and told him he had a temperature of 101.9, that there was the threat of pneumonia and that he should not go out of the house for at least 24 hours.

I would like for the record to show that it has been snowing in Detroit all of the morning and I think that makes it pretty evident that there must be some basis for the doctor's conclusion. I would suggest to the chairman that Senator Nowak's appearance be postponed until tomorrow morning, at which time I will make a further report concerning his condition.

Mr. WOOD. Will you read the statement, counsel, or having examined it, are you satisfied?

Mr. TAVENNER. The certificate shows that the temperature at 10:30 a. m. on February 28, was 101.8.

Mr. WOOD. That is today, isn't it?

Mr. TAVENNER. That is today and I cannot make out the exact language but apparently it is in the left chest posteriorly, bronchial rales, which means a bronchial involvement. I am unable to make out several of the words.

Mr. WOOD. Well, if the senator has a temperature to that extent and in view of the inclement condition of the weather, I am certainly inclined to regard that showing and postpone his appearance here until tomorrow. It will be so ordered.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to call Mr. Robert Cummins.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Cummins, you do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CUMMINS. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT CUMMINS, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, SEYMOUR GOLDMAN

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Cummins, are you represented by counsel?

Mr. CUMMINS. Yes, I am.

Mr. WOOD. Will counsel please identify himself for the record including his professional address.

Mr. GOLDMAN. Seymour Goldman, 1222 Ford Building in Detroit. If it please the committee, Mr. Cummins has requested that during the course of his testimony no pictures be taken and he will submit himself to the photographers at their convenience after his testimony.

Mr. WOOD. I request, gentlemen, that the wishes of the witness be respected and that no further pictures be made until his testimony is concluded.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. CUMMINS. Robert Cummins.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Cummins?

Mr. CUMMINS. I was born on July 28, 1916, in Chippewa Falls, Wis.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a resident of the State of Michigan?

Mr. CUMMINS. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you reside?

Mr. CUMMINS. At 3026 Pingree in Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Detroit?

Mr. CUMMINS. For about 10 or 11 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the committee, please, a brief sketch of your educational background?

Mr. CUMMINS. I am a graduate of the University of Michigan, 1937.

Mr. TAVENNER. What briefly has been your record of employment?

Mr. CUMMINS. Could you be specific as to the time in that question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, since the completion of your educational training in 1937.

Mr. CUMMINS. I will invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state what your employment has been since you came to Detroit, which I believe you said was 10 years ago.

Mr. CUMMINS. That is right. I will invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. How are you employed at this time?

Mr. CUMMINS. I am not employed at the present.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long has it been since you were employed?

Mr. CUMMINS. My last job ended at about Christmastime of last year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of 1951?

Mr. CUMMINS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. What employment were you engaged in at that time?

Mr. CUMMINS. I was selling paint.

Mr. TAVENNER. For whom?

Mr. CUMMINS. For Montgomery Ward & Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long had you been engaged in that work?

Mr. CUMMINS. Since last spring.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that how had you been employed?

Mr. CUMMINS. I decline to answer that question, invoking my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Cummins, I show you an application for passport which was issued on June 4, 1937. It is a photostatic copy of a passport. Would it examine it please and state whether or not you executed it?

Mr. CUMMINS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine the passport and read what it says as to the country in which travel was sought to be engaged? Now will you read what it says?

Mr. CUMMINS. I think it is your job to read the document into the record.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will read it for you then. At the top of the second page of the application there appears the following language: "I intend to visit the following countries for the purposes indicated: Great Britain, study and travel."

Did you travel to Great Britain in 1937?

Mr. CUMMINS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated earlier that you were at the University of Michigan in 1937, is that correct?

Mr. CUMMINS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you leave the institution?

Mr. CUMMINS. I graduated in June of 1937.

Mr. TAVENNER. This application bears date of June 4, 1937. Will you examine the photograph appearing on the application and state whether or not it is a photograph of you?

Mr. CUMMINS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Isn't it a fact, Mr. Cummins, that you did not intend to go to Great Britain for the purpose of study and travel, but you actually intended to go to Spain to fight as a member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

Mr. CUMMINS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. If you are concerned about any possible criminal prosecution for the preparation of a false application for passport, the statute of limitations would have long since elapsed and if that is true on that ground as far as a false application is concerned, it has been held many times that the provision of the fifth amendment would afford no immunity.

You may consult with counsel and obtain his advice on that subject if you desire. So as far as any danger of criminal prosecution from the making of a false application for a passport is concerned, there could be no fear of criminal prosecution as the statute of limitations has run. So I would like to ask you again whether or not you did state in your application to travel to Great Britain that the trip was for the purpose of study and travel whereas in fact you desired to travel to Spain to fight as a member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in the Spanish War?

Mr. CUMMINS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did anyone solicit your participation in the fighting in Spain?

Mr. CUMMINS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of any person at the University of Michigan other than yourself who made an application for passport to go to Spain for the purpose of fighting in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

Mr. CUMMINS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you go to Spain for the purpose of fighting in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

Mr. CUMMINS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you inform the committee how persons who accepted the enlistment for fighting in Spain received their transportation or the money for their transportation abroad and who made the arrangements for the transportation, if you know?

Mr. CUMMINS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the exact date of your graduation from the University of Michigan?

Mr. CUMMINS. I do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it about the date of June 4 or later of the year 1937? Would it have been a day later than June 4, 1937?

Mr. CUMMINS. I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there in existence on the campus of the University of Michigan at the end of the term year of 1937 and during the term, a Young Communist League chapter?

Mr. CUMMINS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer a photostatic copy of the passport in evidence, Mr. Chairman, and ask that it be marked "Cummins Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. Wood. Let it be admitted.

(The document referred to was marked "Cummins Exhibit No. 1" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Richard M. Scammon?

Mr. CUMMINS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. The name of Richard M. Scammon appears as the identifying witness in your application. Was he a person known to you to be a member of the Communist Party or the Young Communist League?

Mr. CUMMINS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I'd like to inquire whether or not you ordered the filing of the exhibit?

Mr. Wood. Yes, I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a record?

Mr. Wood. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at any time employed by the International Steel Co.?

Mr. CUMMINS. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that?

Mr. CUMMINS. In the summer of 1936, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you so employed?

Mr. CUMMINS. By the International Steel Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what place?

Mr. CUMMINS. Evansville, Ind.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you in Evansville, Ind., in the employment of the International Steel Co.?

Mr. CUMMINS. For only part of one summer, that summer of 1936.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there a unit of the Communist Party or a club or cell of the Communist Party formed and established in the

International Steel Co., in Evansville, Ind., during the period you were there?

Mr. CUMMINS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you an organizer of the Communist Party while you were living in Evansville, Ind.?

Mr. CUMMINS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. After your employment ceased at the International Steel Co. in Evansville, Ind., where did you go for employment?

Mr. CUMMINS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you go to the city of New York? Were you ever employed in the city of New York?

Mr. CUMMINS. I was employed in the city of New York.

Mr. TAVENNER. When?

Mr. CUMMINS. I was employed in the city of New York for a 2-year period extending from 1939 until 1941 by the National City Bank of New York.

Mr. TAVENNER. While in New York did you perform any service for the Communist Party or were you in any way active in the Communist Party?

Mr. CUMMINS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you return to the State of Michigan?

Mr. CUMMINS. I have been in and out of the State of Michigan more than once. I have left the State on many occasions and I have returned on many occasions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, after your employment ceased in New York, when did you return to the State of Michigan to accept employment?

Mr. CUMMINS. It was either in September or October of 1941.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, have you been employed outside of the State of Michigan since that time?

Mr. CUMMINS. I served in the United States Army from May 12, 1942, until December 3, 1945, although I would not describe that as a normal employment or employee relationship.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is true.

Mr. CUMMINS. Beyond that I have not been employed outside of the State of Michigan.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you were discharged from the Army in 1945 did you return to Detroit and have you been employed here since?

Mr. CUMMINS. I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. After you returned from Army service, did you become State secretary for the Michigan State chapter of the American Youth for Democracy?

Mr. CUMMINS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any part in or do you have any knowledge of the establishment of the American Youth for Democracy on the same day that the Young Communist League was disbanded? Do you know anything about the facts as to that?

Mr. CUMMINS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at any time a candidate for political office in the State of Michigan?

Mr. CUMMINS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you not a candidate for Congress in the Second Congressional District on the Communist Party ticket?

Mr. CUMMINS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have before me a flyer which is entitled "Communist Candidates in Michigan," and I will ask you to examine it and state whether or not you can identify it as showing the slate of Communist Party officers who ran for election and advise me what year those candidates stood for election.

Mr. CUMMINS. I will repeat my observation that it is not my task but yours to read these documents and to enter them in the record as evidence.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your recollection as to the year in which those officers named there stood for election?

Mr. CUMMINS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine the reverse side of the document and state whether or not your name appears there?

Mr. CUMMINS. May I request that the record show that this document was turned over?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes—was turned over?

Mr. CUMMINS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, do you see the side to which I am referring?

Mr. CUMMINS. I do; I have seen both sides.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, do you see on either side your name as a candidate for a political office?

Mr. CUMMINS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer both sides of the document in evidence as Cummins' exhibit No. 2.

Mr. Wood. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Cummins Exhibit No. 2" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. On the front side appears the photograph of Hugo Beiswenger for United States Senator. The date does not appear, and on the reverse side I will read the following Communist candidates: Secretary of State, Abner W. Berry; attorney general, Philip Raymond; State treasurer, Geneva J. Olmsted; United States Senator, Hugo Beiswenger; Representative in United States Congress, second district, Robert Cummins; representative in State legislature, Washenaw County, second district, Thomas Dennis.

Was that not in the election of 1946?

Mr. CUMMINS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Cummins, have you ever interested yourself in the recruiting of youth into the Communist Party?

Mr. CUMMINS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you the original of a letter with the date not shown other than January 7 addressed to "Dear Wayne" and signed

"Comradely, Bob Cummins," and ask you whether or not that is your signature to the letter? Did you look at it?

Mr. CUMMINS. I have looked at it and in answer to your question I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the letter in evidence and ask that it be marked "Cummins Exhibit No. 3."

Mr. WOOD. Let it be admitted.

(The document referred to was marked "Cummins Exhibit No. 3" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. There was a witness who appeared before the committee a few days ago by the name of Wayne Salisbury. Were you acquainted with him?

Mr. CUMMINS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I'd like to read this letter into the record.

Mr. WOOD. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER (reading):

JANUARY 7.

DEAR WAYNE: I expect you have already seen a copy of this call, but I am trying to write a special follow-up letter to all the out-State clubs. I am hoping to see you at this conference with one or more other comrades from Jackson, young or old, if at all possible.

The theme of the conference is going to be Building the Party Among Youth, with special panel discussions on how to do it in the shops, in the communities, and on the campus.

We intend to stress the concentration on working class and Negro youth. Also we have to take a big step toward working out a rounded-out Communist Party program for the youth of Michigan. We have to make the entire party better able and determined to take up the needs of youth and to recruit youth because a handful of youth clubs in Detroit by themselves cannot recruit 250 to 300 youths this spring and those are the terms in which we are thinking.

I believe this conference will meet head-on the key questions in the youth field but it won't mean a thing with delegates from all the different clubs to help work out these questions, get and give ideas, and carry them back to their clubs.

So let's see Jackson there Sunday. We are going to have a party the night before (Saturday, the 11th). We are arranging housing for out-of-town delegates so that they can come to the party. We will have a place for you and the others from Jackson but let me know right away whether you can come for the party and how many.

Comradely,

BOB CUMMINS.

Did Wayne come to the party?

Mr. CUMMINS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. I have no questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter, do you have any questions?

Mr. POTTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness shouldn't be excused from further attendance?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. WOOD. The committee will stand in recess for 15 minutes.

(A short recess was taken.)

Mr. WOOD. Let the committee come to order. Mr. Counsel, at the beginning of these hearings last Monday, I made an announcement that in keeping with the general policy of this committee over a long period of years, any person who is mentioned in connection with testimony here who desired to do so might apply to the committee for permission to appear and make a denial or explanation of anything that is said concerning it.

Pursuant to that I have been requested by one William A. Record, whose name was mentioned in the testimony of Richard O'Hair, to be permitted to appear before the committee and if it doesn't interfere with your program too much, I am inclined to have him break in now so we can hear him.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is all right, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Is William A. Record in the hearing room?

Mr. RECORD. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Will you stand and be sworn, please?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RECORD. I do.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM ANDREW RECORD

Mr. WOOD. Do you have counsel representing you?

Mr. RECORD. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Do you desire an attorney?

Mr. RECORD. No, sir. I came down to the FBI, and they sent me down here.

Mr. WOOD. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, what is your name, please?

Mr. RECORD. William Andrew Record.

Mr. TAVENNER. Your name is William A. Record?

Mr. RECORD. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the first day's testimony I understand Mr. O'Hair mentioned your name as a person who was a member of the Communist Party and you did desire to come in here and tell this committee what you know about the matter; is that it?

Mr. RECORD. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, will you just go ahead and tell the committee what you desire to tell them.

Mr. RECORD. Well, my first hearing of this was when I read the paper, I think, Tuesday. My wife showed it to me in the Free Press. She said "You have got your name in the paper." I didn't pay much attention to it. I was working on a job and that night I guess all my friends called me. They said, "Hello, you Red," so I thought it was a joke, but the next day my employer called me and discharged me on account of this writeup in the papers.

So I didn't know what to do, so yesterday I called the FBI and they said, "Well, we can't do anything about a retraction of the statement. Did you belong to the Communist Party?" I told them I joined the Midtown Club back in 1943, that is 8 or 10 years ago and I remember attending one meeting; I remember paying 1 month's dues and subscribing for the Daily Worker paper; that they came out to see me once or twice and when I learned about the party I severed all con-

nection with it. I never saw or heard of them any more and I haven't been in any of their meetings.

I have never attended any meetings at any time and I know only one man's name mentioned in the paper and that may not be the James Anderson that I know. There was a James Anderson, I think, mentioned in the papers, so I came down here today and talked to someone in the FBI. They said, "The best thing for you to do is to go down to the committee room and ask to speak to somebody connected with Mr. Wood's committee. They will tell you what to do."

I came down to the door here and got the news reporter and here I am.

MR. TAVENNER. Well, how did you happen to get into the Communist Party?

MR. RECORD. I was working at the Diesel Motor, a General Motors concern, and I belonged to the—I joined the local 63. Now, when I went there I was a sweeper and I was told by some member of this workers' club, "You may get upgraded if you join the workers' club." All sweepers started in at General Motors or Diesel at 85 cents an hour. There was no seniority among the Negroes there because they never used Negroes in the plant before. So I worked along as a sweeper. I did join this Midtown Party, then I was—

MR. TAVENNER. Were you upgraded after you got into the party?

MR. RECORD. No. I was upgraded before I got into the party to 99 cents. The party didn't upgrade any at all because I never had anything to do with their—I went from 99 to \$1.09 and rated as a truck driver, and I stayed there until the end of the war. I went back to the hotel and I have been a hotel bellhop for 35 years.

MR. TAVENNER. Well, now, let me get clearly under what circumstances you were to be upgraded.

MR. RECORD. If I would join the workers' club there would be a chance for upgrading from 85 cents up, but that didn't develop because I was upgraded by the general superintendent of the plant to 99 cents. I never heard any more from the party. They came to my house once if I make no mistake, and I paid a month's dues and subscribed for the Daily Worker.

MR. TAVENNER. I am trying to find out what the workers' club was, that is, what it turned out to be.

MR. RECORD. It turned out to be the Communist Club.

MR. TAVENNER. The Communist Club?

MR. RECORD. That is right.

MR. TAVENNER. As an inducement to get you to come into the Communist Party, you were told if you did you would be upgraded?

MR. RECORD. Upgraded and make more money per hour.

MR. TAVENNER. Now, after you got into the Communist Party you stated you paid dues?

MR. RECORD. Yes, sir.

MR. TAVENNER. How were the dues fixed?

MR. RECORD. Well, when I went in I think I paid \$1.25 to join. I think it was \$1.25 and it was told to me it would be 50 cents a month. I understood it to be 50 cents a month and you have a chance to be upgraded and a chance to make more money. When they came around I was told about this party, and well it was just like the Democratic Party or Republican Party or any other party. I said, "O. K." They came around and wanted 10 percent of my earnings. That is when I

blew up and threw the thing out the window. That is the truth and that is what you asked me for.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is what we wanted—the truth. I have no further question.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Record, what individual approached you? Who recruited you into the party?

Mr. RECORD. Well, as far as the recruiting, I don't remember his name, but he is deceased I am sure now. I learned that he died some years ago. The only one person that I can remember—only two fellows came to my house, one colored fellow and one white fellow and one of their names was James Anderson, the only name I know. I remember I never had any affiliation with any other one.

Mr. JACKSON. Where was the one meeting that you attended held?

Mr. RECORD. The one meeting held was somewhere on Twelfth Street, now, as near I can remember around Euclid or Philadelphia—around Twelfth Street back in the year 1943. I was only there once.

Mr. JACKSON. Approximately how many people were in attendance?

Mr. RECORD. There was not over 8 at the most, between 5 and 8, I think.

Mr. JACKSON. What transpired at this meeting?

Mr. RECORD. It wasn't very much of anything because there wasn't anything—anyone there. The fellow I had taken out there, he had been talking to me in the plant and then induced me to join the meeting—the party, and I did join.

Mr. JACKSON. You said that you took him out there?

Mr. RECORD. Yes; he didn't have a car, so I had taken him out on a Sunday morning. That is when I joined, one Sunday morning and it was in the summertime.

Mr. JACKSON. Was this Anderson?

Mr. RECORD. No; I met Anderson at my home.

Mr. JACKSON. Well, who was the other individual involved?

Mr. RECORD. I don't remember his name. He was a little fellow—he is a colored fellow.

Mr. JACKSON. I congratulate you on your decision to come down here, Mr. Record. I think it was probably a very wise thing to do.

Mr. RECORD. Thank you, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. I hope it will be taken into consideration by your employer that you were willing to come forward and cooperate with the committee.

Mr. RECORD. Thank you, sir.

Mr. POTTER. I, too, Mr. Record, hope your employer will see fit now that the story is well known as to how you happened to get fooled into joining the party—that is, after you found out the true purpose, you immediately severed all connections and for the past 10 years you had no connection with it as you have sworn here—to take this into consideration and reinstate you on the basis that your employer would be doing a great service, I think not only to you, but to the work that the committee is engaged in.

Mr. RECORD. Thank you, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Are there any further questions, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Thank you for coming here, sir, and you are excused.
(The witness was excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. The next witness is Mrs. Lorraine Meisner.

Mr. WOOD. Will you please stand and be sworn?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

TESTIMONY OF LORRAINE MEISNER

Mrs. MEISNER. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. CROCKET. I am Mr. Crockett, Mr. Chairman, appearing for Mrs. Meisner and I request that no photographs be taken during her testimony.

Mr. WOOD. Is that your wish that no photographs be taken?

Mrs. MEISNER. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. I will ask that the photographers respect it.

Mrs. MEISNER. Are no statements to be read?

Mr. WOOD. Just submit it to the reporter and it will be accepted for consideration.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Mrs. MEISNER. Lorraine Meisner.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your name prior to your marriage with Mr. Meisner?

Mrs. MEISNER. Lorraine Faxon.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you live?

Mrs. MEISNER. 3042 Gladstone.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mrs. Meisner?

Mrs. MEISNER. Chicago, Ill., November 9, 1931.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your educational training?

Mrs. MEISNER. Grade school, high school, and 2½ years of college.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you attend college?

Mrs. MEISNER. Wayne.

Mr. TAVENNER. Wayne University?

Mrs. MEISNER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What employment have you had since the completion of your 2½ years at Wayne?

Mrs. MEISNER. Well, I am still attending at Wayne.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are still at Wayne?

Mrs. MEISNER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a student?

Mrs. MEISNER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Meisner, in May of 1951, you made an application for a United States passport for the purpose of making a trip to France, England, Italy, Switzerland, and Germany, according to information that the committee has. Now what was the purpose of your trip?

Mrs. MEISNER. I will not answer that question placing myself on the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photostatic copy of an application for passport bearing date of May 16, 1951. Will you examine it please and state whether or not you have signed it?

Mrs. MEISNER. I refuse to answer that question also placing myself on my fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the application as evidence and ask that it be marked "Meisner Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. WOOD. Let it be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Meisner Exhibit No. 1" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. According to this application for passport there appears under the heading "Purpose of Trip: Sightseeing and Advanced Education." Is it true that you went abroad for that purpose, that is, sightseeing and advanced education?

Mrs. MEISNER. I will keep the same answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a matter of fact, didn't you go for a very definite purpose different from that which I have mentioned?

Mrs. MEISNER. I'd appreciate not answering the question under my fifth-amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. I notice that the names of the countries to be visited according to this exhibit No. 1 are France, England, Italy, Switzerland, and Germany. How many of those countries did you go to, if any?

Mrs. MEISNER. Relying on my fifth-amendment privilege, I will not answer that question either.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you contact the Council For Student Travel in regard to travel abroad during the year 1951?

Mrs. MEISNER. I would also like to decline to answer that question on the same basis.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of any students at Wayne University other than yourself who applied for passport to go to Europe during 1951?

Mrs. MEISNER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were they?

Mrs. MEISNER. I am informed that I may decline to answer now on the basis of the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. WOOD. Do you so decline for that reason?

Mrs. MEISNER. Yes, sir, for that reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Leonard Cohen's passport, and he was a student of Wayne University, taken up at the port of embarkation?

Mrs. MEISNER. I would like to decline to answer that on the basis of the fifth amendment?

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Maurice Meisner, a student at the university, go to Europe in 1951?

Mrs. MEISNER. I'd like to decline on that one because a wife doesn't have to testify about her husband.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, when were you married?

Mrs. MEISNER. February 3, 1952.

Mr. TAVENNER. 1952?

Mrs. MEISNER. Three and a half weeks ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee has conducted an investigation regarding the trip to Europe of a number of persons from the United States who participated in the Berlin Youth Festival in Berlin, and according to its information as a result of its investigation, a number of those who went have told us that in going to East Berlin, they traveled into France where they boarded the *Batory* at Le Havre and they traveled on the *Batory* to Gdynia, Poland, and proceeded from there into the Soviet zone of Berlin by train.

Do you know anything about the transportation into East Berlin by way of Poland?

Mrs. MEISNER. I would like to decline to answer that question on the basis of the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. WOOD. Is that the route that you took to get there?

Mrs. MEISNER. I will also decline to answer that question on the basis of the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Meisner, I would like to ask you what knowledge you have regarding the purposes of the World Youth Festival which was to be held in East Berlin during 1951, and in particular the report appearing in a publication entitled "For a Lasting Peace for the Peoples' Democracy" published in Bucharest, which publication is an "Organ of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties" as shown on the masthead of the paper?

According to the issue of Friday, August 3, 1951, that organ of the information bureau had this to say about the purposes of this festival:

The Third World Youth Festival is opening in conditions of international tension; when the American imperialists have switched to open preparations for another war and even to direct acts of aggression involving all the Marshallized countries in their criminal gambles and placing the burden of the monstrous armaments drive on the shoulders of the working people; when in Korea, which has been attacked by imperialist plunderers, tens of thousands of young lives are sacrificed.

Then in a further statement regarding the purpose of this meeting it is said:

The United States imperialists and their direct agents—the governments of national betrayal in the Marshallized countries, the right wing Socialist leaders, the Tito Fascist gang and Vatican—are doing their utmost to corrupt the youth morally. The press, radio, and cinema controlled by the imperialists and the bourgeois school in which as Lenin put it, "The younger generation of workers and peasants were not so much educated as drilled in the interests of this bourgeoisie,"—all these means of ideological influence are used by the incendiaries of another war in order to poison the minds of the youth with the venom of Chauvinism and racism to make it the obedient executor of the will of the enemies of mankind.

Do you support those statements with regard to the purposes of the meeting of the World Youth Festival?

Mrs. MEISNER. Since the document is not in evidence, I can't agree that what you are reading is a truthful statement so I can't make any comment on it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Assuming what I have read is correctly read and truthfully read, do you agree with it?

Mrs. MEISNER. I claim my privilege under the fifth amendment and decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were those purposes as I read to you, known to you prior to the date of the application for passport as the purposes for which the World Youth Festival was being held?

Mrs. MEISNER. The same answer and the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me read you an excerpt from the same publication but of the issue of August 10, 1951, 1 week later than the first where there appears an article entitled "Review of Forces of Young Fighters for Peace, Third World Youth Festival" and I read this paragraph:

The moment the youth of the Chinese peoples' republic appears, all rise to their feet and the cries: "Long live Mao Tse Tung!" resounds from end to end of the stadium.

With unanimous enthusiasm and tumultuous applause, the onlookers express ardent sympathy with the proudly marching delegates of the valiant youth of Korea—sons and daughters of the people who are waging heroic struggle against the American aggressors.

Did there come to your knowledge at any time that this youth festival supported that idea, America being an aggressor against the Chinese people or the Korean people?

Mrs. MEISNER. I would like to decline to answer that on the basis of the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, prior to the date of your application for passport of May 16, 1951, was an effort made to teach you and other persons at Wayne University or any other place to your knowledge, that the United States Government was the aggressor in Korea?

Mrs. MEISNER. As far as I know, Wayne University has never engaged in such teaching.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did anyone make an effort to teach you or to lead you to believe such a thing to be a fact?

Mrs. MEISNER. I would like to decline to answer that question on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I should make it clear I intended to make no reference to Wayne University as such teaching a doctrine like that. Now, is there a Communist Party cell or group among the students of Wayne University to your knowledge?

Mrs. MEISNER. I refuse to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now will you tell the committee please, who conferred with you, if anyone, in an effort to interest you in taking a trip to the meetings of the third World Youth Festival in East Berlin?

Mrs. MEISNER. I decline to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you or Maurice Meisner speak before a committee of the Michigan Council for Appeasement and report on your experiences as delegates to the Berlin Youth Festival?

Mrs. MEISNER. I decline to answer that claiming the privilege of a wife.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did you appear at any such peace meeting and make a report regarding your experiences at the Berlin Youth Festival?

Mrs. MEISNER. I decline to answer on the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MEISNER. I decline to answer that on the basis of my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. You don't take these questions very seriously, do you?

Mrs. MEISNER. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. I didn't think so. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson, do you have any questions you'd like to ask the witness?

Mr. JACKSON. Do you have any relatives serving in Korea?

Mrs. MEISNER. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. JACKSON. Perhaps if you had some relatives serving in Korea who were subjected to Communist attacks, this entire proceeding might take on a somewhat more serious aspect to you. I have no further questions.

Mr. POTTER. I have no questions.

Mr. WOOD. Are there further questions, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness shouldn't be excused?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. It is so ordered.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I call Mr. Patrick F. Rice.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Rice, will you stand and be sworn, please sir?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RICE. I do.

TESTIMONY OF PATRICK FRANCIS JOSEPH SHANNON RICE, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, ERNEST GOODMAN

Mr. WOOD. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. RICE. Mr. Goodman.

Mr. GOODMAN. My name is Ernest Goodman, Cadillac Tower, Detroit, Mich. I desire to request that photographs be withheld until after my client's testimony. He would much prefer it that way.

Mr. WOOD. Are those your wishes, Mr. Rice?

Mr. RICE. Correct, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name, please sir?

Mr. RICE. Patrick Francis Joseph Shannon Rice.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, sir?

Mr. RICE. Belfast, Ireland.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and through what port did you enter the United States?

Mr. RICE. New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you take up your residence upon arrival in the United States?

Mr. RICE. Marion, Ohio.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you take up your residence at Marion?

Mr. RICE. Somewhere along 1921 or LaRue, Ohio, near there—they generally call it Marion, Ohio—a little town called LaRue.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you live there?

Mr. RICE. Oh, perhaps about 3 months.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you move from there?

Mr. RICE. To Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you live at Cleveland?

Mr. RICE. Oh, about 3 or 4 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. From there where did you move?

Mr. RICE. Detroit, Mich.

Mr. TAVENNER. So that means you came to Michigan about when?

Mr. RICE. Oh, somewhere around 1925.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you lived continuously in Detroit since 1925?

Mr. RICE. I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have never resided at Cleveland other than the 3 or 4 years that you mentioned?

Mr. RICE. Correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your educational background, please?

Mr. RICE. High school.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your principal employment since you have been in Detroit?

Mr. RICE. The Ford Motor Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. During what period of time have you been on the payroll of the Ford Motor Co. as distinguished from the seniority payroll or list?

Mr. RICE. Well, 1935, I rehired there—1935. About 17 years ago I started in Ford's.

Mr. TAVENNER. What type of work were you engaged in at the Ford Motor Co.?

Mr. RICE. Substation operator.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you work as a substation operator?

Mr. RICE. 17 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you hold an official position with Local 600, UAW, is that right?

Mr. RICE. I am vice president of local 600.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were you elected to that position?

Mr. RICE. Approximately 2 years ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that a full-time assignment?

Mr. RICE. It is.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, during the period of time that you have been vice president of the local, have you held any other employment or job at the plant?

Mr. RICE. No; that is the full-time job.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, Mr. Rice, I show you a photostatic copy of an application for passport which was allegedly executed by you on June 11, 1951. I ask you to examine it please and state whether or not you signed the application.

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you check your signature with some papers before answering?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment and I refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer the copy of the application in evidence and ask that it be marked "Rice Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. WOOD. It will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Rice Exhibit No. 1" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I ask you to look at the photograph appearing on the last page and state whether or not it is a photograph of you.

Mr. RICE. I invoke my right and privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will read to you from the first page of the application the following:

I immigrated to the United States on or about August 1921. I resided continuously in the United States from 1921 to 1951 at Cleveland, Ohio.

Was that a truthful statement?

Mr. RICE. I refuse to answer that question on the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a matter of fact, you have not lived in Cleveland from 1921 to 1951, have you?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my right under the fifth amendment privilege and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. You lived in the city of Detroit for 17 years prior to the date of June 14, 1951, had you not?

Mr. RICE. I have lived in Detroit 17 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your purpose in stating to the United States Government that you have lived in Cleveland continuously from 1921 to 1951, if you have lived 17 years of that time in Detroit?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Looking at the lower left-hand block on the first page of the application where blanks are provided to be filled in relating to the description of the applicant there appears under the title "Occupation," "substation operator." Was that a truthful statement on June 14, 1951?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Having testified as you did a few moments ago that for the past 2 years you have held the position of vice president of local 600, which was a full-time job, and that you were not otherwise employed in any type of work at the Ford plant, what was your reason for stating that in 1951 you were a substation operator?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my right under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Could it be that because you did not desire the Government to know of your connection with labor in Detroit at the time you made an application to travel abroad that you gave the answers which I have mentioned with regard to your residence and as to your occupation?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. On the reverse side of the application on page 2 there appears the "Following title to be answered with regard to travel plans." Under the heading or statement "Approximate date of departure," there appears printed by pen and ink, "23 June 1951." And opposite the title "Proposed length of stay abroad," "30 days." "Countries to be visited: France, Italy, Ireland, and Scotland"; "the purposes of trip: labor interests."

Mr. RICE, what was your real purpose for filing an application to travel abroad?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. With whom did you discuss the filing of an application for passport before filling it out?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Had you determined prior to the time of filing this application that you would extend your visit into such countries as France, Italy, Ireland, and Scotland?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. In filling out this application, did you intentionally deceive the United States as to the exact place of your destination?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. After applying for the passport, did you change your plans about going abroad?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you intend to go to Germany at the time you filled out this application?

Mr. RICE. The same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Had you planned to attend the Third World Youth Festival in East Berlin?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and I refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was a passport issued to you?

Mr. RICE. I received a passport.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you travel under it?

Mr. RICE. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege and refuse to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Rice, I have before me a photostatic copy of a letter dated June 25, 1951, on the letterhead of Ford Local 600, which letter was addressed to R. B. Shipley, Chief of the Passport Division, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C. This letter is signed by "Pat Rice, vice president." Do you recall writing a letter, the photostatic copy of which I am exhibiting to you?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the photostatic copy of the letter in evidence and ask that it be marked "Rice Exhibit No. 2."

Mr. WOOD. It will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Rice Exhibit No. 2," received in evidence, and contains the following:)

FOR LOCAL 600, UAW-CIO

10550 Dix Avenue—Dearborn, Michigan

CARL STELLATO, President
PAT RICE, Vice President
WILLIAM R. HOOD, Recording Secretary
W. G. GRANT, Financial Secretary

WALTER CONNORS, Trustee
WILLIAM CARR, Trustee
GEORGE LAMARQUE, Trustee
ANDY DEWAR, Sergeant at Arms
JOE RIVERS, Guide

June 25, 1951.

Re: E-130—Rice, Patrick Frank

R. B. SHIPLEY,

*Chief, Passport Division, Department of State,
Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: This letter is written in reply to your speedletter of June 20th requesting that I submit a letter from the organization under whose auspices I am traveling abroad.

I am not traveling under the auspices of any organization. I am taking this trip abroad as a vacation and for my own knowledge and benefit. Originally I had intended to take a vacation to the land of my birth, Belfast, Ireland. However, I have been invited by representatives from other countries in Europe, visiting Local 600 under the auspices of the Moral Rearmament Program to visit them in their own countries.

I am, therefore, planning to visit Otto Sperling of the "WELD DER ARBEIT" newspaper located at Berlin W30, Nurnberger Strasse 53/55—Zimmer 363—Telefon

240011/556, who has extended a personal invitation to me. I have also received an invitation from a former deputy from France visiting Local 600, under the Moral Rearmament Program, to visit the Manson at 22 Avenue Victor Hugo, Boulogne Sur Seine, Paris, France, Mol (Q652 (Molitor)).

I am also planning to visit the Trade Unions International of Metal and Engineering Industries in France, Britain, and Italy; the Paris office is located at 10, rue Vezelay, Paris 8^{eme}, France.

I felt that these invitations afforded an excellent opportunity to get first-hand information on what is going on in Europe. This trip is for my own information and observation and also in support of Senator Edwin Johnson of Colorado's peace resolution introduced in the United States Senate.

Sincerely yours,

[S] PAT RICE, *Vice President.*

PR/mot.

liu72cio.

Airmail Special Delivery.

Mr. TAVENNER. This letter, Mr. Rice, according to the first paragraph, was your reply to a communication from R. B. Shipley which communication you described as a speed letter of June 20. What is a speed letter?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, from your letter there is the inference that R. B. Shipley had written you on June 20 asking you for a further explanation of the purpose of your travel abroad because you on your application for passport indicated that your purpose of travel was labor interest. R. B. Shipley was advised by you that you were not traveling under the auspices of any organization, that you were taking the trip as a vacation and for your own knowledge and benefit you advised R. B. Shipley that when you applied you originally intended to visit the land of your birth, Belfast, Ireland, but that you had been invited by the representatives from other countries of Europe to visit them. These representatives were described by you as the Europeans who had visited and inspected the Ford plants under the auspices of the moral rearmament program. Is that not true?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were the representatives of the Moral Rearmament Program in Detroit as visitors of your plant? That is of the Ford plant?

Mr. RICE. Oh, I believe around July of last year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then that would have been after the filing of your application and could have had nothing to do with your decision to go abroad because your application is dated June 14. Will you give us the real reasons for your going abroad?

Mr. RICE. Will you ask that question again, please?

Mr. TAVENNER. Read the question?

(The question was read by the official court reporter.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I should say your real reasons for making an application for passport to travel abroad.

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Isn't it true that any conversation you may have had with the people representing the Moral Rearmament Program would have had nothing to do whatever with the filing of your application to travel because they didn't arrive at your plant until July and your application was filed on June 14?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why did you desire to deceive the Department, that is the Passport Division of the State Department, by telling them that you had been invited by Europeans who had visited and inspected the Ford plants under the auspices of the Moral Rearmament Program?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who assisted you in the preparation of this letter of June 25, 1951, offered in evidence as exhibit 2?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Rice, did you discuss your proposed trip to Europe with William Allan, the editor of the Michigan Worker?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know William Allan?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Rice, I show you a photographic reproduction of a snapshot and ask you if you can identify the woman whose picture appears there? Is that Ann Beiswenger?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer the photograph in evidence and ask that it be marked "Rice Exhibit No. 3."

Mr. Wood. It will be admitted.

(The document referred to was marked "Rice Exhibit No. 3" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Did William Allan introduce you to Ann Beiswenger for the purpose of having her discuss with you a trip to Europe?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Ann Beiswenger talk to you about a trip to east Berlin in 1951?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you advised by her regarding the plans in which you should prepare your application for passport?

Mr. RICE. The same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you cautioned not to list the countries or places behind the iron curtain where you expected to go, that is list them in your application?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you propose to travel under the auspices of the coordinating committee to survey trade union conditions in Europe?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were the funds to come from to defray the expenses of the trip which you proposed to take but did not take?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, referring again to your letter of June 25, 1951, Rice exhibit No. 2, the last paragraph reads as follows:

I felt that these invitations afforded an excellent opportunity to get first-hand information on what is going on in Europe. This trip is for my own information and observation and also in support of Senator Edwin Johnson of Colorado's peace resolution introduced in the United States Senate.

Will you explain what you meant by that?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. How could a trip to Europe by you be in support of Senator Johnson's resolution regarding peace?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. The resolution by Senator Johnson refers to the war now being staged in Korea, does it not?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Before making your decision not to travel under the passport which had been issued you, did you learn that Leonard Cohen, a student at Wayne University, had been stopped and that his passport had been picked up and he was not permitted to engage in this travel?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Could the action in this case have had any effect upon your decision not to go?

Mr. RICE. I invoke the privilege of the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have any knowledge of false representations on the part of others or any person regarding the real purpose of this trip behind the iron curtain, that is the trip to attend the Third World Youth Festival in east Berlin?

Mr. RICE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson, do you have any questions?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, I believe as long as the Moral Rearmament Program has been mentioned, the record should positively show that no taint attaches to the movement and to the contrary, that the group has done a considerable amount of good work throughout the world. I have one question of counsel: For how long does the statute of limitations run upon passport cases?

Mr. TAVENNER. Three years.

Mr. JACKSON. Has this expired?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. Mr. Rice, evidence has been submitted here to the effect that you have intentionally falsified documents to your Government. A person who will do that is of such a character that his dealings with other people cannot be trusted. I have very little use for a man of that integrity.

Mr. GOODMAN. I think that statement is very unfair, Mr. Potter. There is no evidence of that kind introduced here.

Mr. POTTER. Mr. Rice has had plenty of opportunity to comment on the photostat of the passport.

Mr. GOODMAN. The statements made by counsel here, in my opinion, constitute no evidence of the charge that you have made here.

Mr. POTTER. Mr. Rice has had an opportunity here to deny the charges or deny the statements made on that passport.

Mr. GOODMAN. Mr. Rice's effort to avoid this, which obviously appears to be a frame-up for him, is not to be considered under the fifth amendment as any evidence of guilt and I think, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. Tavenner will state to the committee that the fifth amendment protection is not evidence of guilt on the part of any witness.

Mr. WOOD. I am going to take issue with you on that proposition. When a man takes advantage of the fifth amendment to refuse to answer a question, he is testifying falsely or the question if answered, would be exactly what he says—

Mr. GOODMAN. Would you allow me to say this: I have read a number of decisions of the United States Supreme Court—

Mr. WOOD. So have I.

Mr. GOODMAN. That is within the last few weeks and one thing they have all said, Representative Wood, is this: That the fifth amendment protection being derived from the English law following the Inquisition is such that it is considered a protection for the innocent primarily, and that is what the courts have said, and no inference of guilt can be drawn from the witness' refusal to answer a question under it.

I think Mr. Tavenner, if he is a sincere attorney, will tell you the same thing, that is, what the courts have said.

Mr. JACKSON. I should like to say that I did make a remark and I will stand upon the remark that the statement made in testimony by the witness on his passport application that he had resided continuously in one city and the statement made in testimony upon his appearance on the stand of an entirely different nature has nothing to do with the fifth amendment.

These are two statements which are in conflict and which in my opinion need to be resolved by the proper agency of Government.

Mr. GOODMAN. That is a question which we can disagree upon as attorneys, but on the question of guilt or innocence with respect to the fifth amendment, no lawyers will disagree on that.

Mr. JACKSON. I make no charge of guilt against Mr. Rice. I say the cognizant agency of Government should proceed immediately in my opinion to determine the facts in this case.

Mr. GOODMAN. Will you agree with me that no person is deemed to be guilty because he refuses to answer under the fifth amendment? Won't you agree with that?

Mr. JACKSON. I will agree with you to that extent, but what the American people think and what assumption they draw is an entirely different thing in light of the nature of the testimony and the attitude of the witness who testified.

Mr. GOODMAN. It is the only defense you have against an inquisition of any kind whether it is a committee of Congress or any other in my estimation. That is what the court has said and I believe it.

Mr. WOOD. No further questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness shouldn't be further excused?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. It will be so ordered.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I call Mrs. Ann Beiswenger.

Mr. WOOD. Please stand and be sworn?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. BEISWENGER. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF ANN BEISWENGER, ACCOMPANIED BY HER
COUNSEL, HAROLD NORRIS**

Mr. WOOD. Are you represented by counsel?

Mrs. BEISWENGER. Yes; I am.

Mr. WOOD. Would counsel please identify himself for the record including the professional office address.

Mr. NORRIS. My name is Harold Norris of the Michigan bar, Penobscot Building, Detroit. Mr. Chairman, if I may, I ask that the committee ruling with regard to pictures being taken during the course of the testimony be enforced.

Mr. WOOD. Do you object to pictures being made of you?

Mrs. BEISWENGER. Well, during the testimony, but after the testimony they are free to take pictures.

Mr. WOOD. I will ask the reporters to respect her wishes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name?

Mrs. BEISWENGER. My name is Mrs. Ann Beiswenger.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you live, Mrs. Beiswenger?

Mrs. BEISWENGER. I reside at 7485 Cortland in Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Detroit?

Mrs. BEISWENGER. I have lived in Detroit approximately 16 or 17 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Beiswenger, I hand you Rice exhibit No. 3, which is a photograph. Will you examine it, please, and state whether or not it is a photograph of you?

Mr. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer the question under my fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Beiswenger, on May 15, 1951, did you meet with Art McPhaul at the offices of the Michigan Chapter of the Civil Rights Congress as far as you can recall?

Mrs. BEISWENGER. The same answer for the same reason already given.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at or about that time, May 1951, engaged in the effort of attempting to line up trade-union delegations to visit European countries?

Mrs. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer the question under my fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you communicate with Mr. Patrick Rice, either in person or through another, and advise him that you desired to discuss a matter with him which concerned the whole country?

Mrs. BEISWENGER. Same answer for the same reason already given.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you endeavor to interest Mr. Rice in making a trip to Europe to attend the third youth festival in east Berlin?

Mrs. BEISWENGER. Same answer for the same reason already given.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you give him any advice regarding the filing of his application for a passport?

Mrs. BEISWENGER. Same answer for the same reason already given.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have been identified during the course of the testimony here as having been a member of the Communist Party. I want to give you an opportunity to either deny it or affirm it, if you will.

Mrs. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer that question under my fifth amendment privilege and for the additional reason that the first amendment to the Constitution guarantees free thought, free ideas, et cetera.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Supreme Court of the United States has held in the case involving the 10 Hollywood writers that in a question of that kind, the first amendment is not involved.

Mrs. BEISWENGER. If you will note, I said that I declined to answer the question under my privileges under the fifth amendment and for the additional reason of my privileges under the first amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BEISWENGER. I decline to answer the question under my privileges of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BEISWENGER. Same answer and same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Do you have any questions, Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No questions.

Mr. POTTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. The witness will be excused from further attendance. (The witness was excused.)

Is that all for today?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. The committee stands in recess until 10 o'clock in the morning.

(Whereupon, at 4:30 p. m., the committee was recessed to reconvene at 10 a. m., Friday, February 29, 1952.)

COMMUNISM IN THE DETROIT AREA—PART 1

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 29, 1952

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Detroit, Mich.

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met pursuant to call at 10:45 a. m., in room 740, Federal Building, Detroit, Mich., the Honorable John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood, Donald L. Jackson, and Charles E. Potter.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., assistant counsel; John W. Carrington, clerk; and Donald T. Appell and Jackson Jones, investigators.

Mr. Wood. Let us have order, please. Let the record disclose there are present the following members of the committee: Jackson, Potter, and Wood, constituting a majority of the subcommittee.

Who will you call?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Stanley Nowak.

STATEMENT OF GEORGE W. CROCKETT, JR., COUNSEL FOR STANLEY NOWAK

Mr. CROCKETT. Mr. Chairman, I am attorney for Mr. Stanley Nowak. I am appearing again for Senator Nowak. I spoke to Mrs. Nowak this morning, and she informed me the senator is still ill. His temperature is hovering somewhere around 99 degrees; still has soreness of the throat, pain in the chest. I talked with Dr. Klein, whose statement was made a part of the record on yesterday. He advises, in his opinion, it would be inadvisable for the senator to leave his room, even if he felt better. He should have at least 24 hours of convalescence. I think the chairman mentioned the inclemency of the weather, and I would like to note on the record, the weather is still inclement. Under the circumstances, Mr. Chairman, I suggest that the return date of the senator's subpoena be extended until such time as the committee desires.

Mr. Wood. Certainly, the committee has no desire to jeopardize the safety of any person on account of these hearings. Since it is hoped that the full committee will grant permission for a subcommittee to return here in the very near future, I suggest, Mr. Counsel, that the subpoena of Senator Nowak be continued until such time as he may be notified, by wire or otherwise, to appear here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, would you mind continuing it and extending it to the 10th of March?

Mr. WOOD. All right, extend it to the 10th of March, with the understanding, if it isn't released at that time, it will be further extended.

Mr. CROCKETT. Very well. I also represent Mr. James Watts, of Ford local 600, whose subpoena is returnable before this committee today. I would like to know if the committee will reach Mr. Watts today.

Mr. WOOD. I did understand that all witnesses who were supposed to appear today had been notified.

Mr. TAVENNER. All witnesses who have been subpoenaed to appear today and tomorrow have been notified by telegram of the extension of their subpoena until March, I think, until March 10. Some of the wires have come back because of incorrect addresses, and, probably, your client was one.

Mr. WOOD. If he hasn't received such notification, you may convey it to him.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is, I understand, for March 10, 11, and 12.

Mr. WOOD. In the light of Nowak's absence, who do you have?

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to call Mrs. Toby Baldwin.

Mr. WOOD. Mrs. Baldwin, please. Mrs. Baldwin, will you raise your right hand, please, and be sworn? You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF BERENIECE "TOBY" BALDWIN

Mr. WOOD. Now, are you represented by counsel, Mrs. Baldwin?

Mrs. BALDWIN. No, I am not.

Mr. WOOD. If you desire counsel at any time during the proceedings, you have the right to get one.

Mrs. BALDWIN. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Baldwin, will you please state your full name for the record, and your address?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Bereniece Baldwin, 16272 East State Fair, Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I was born in 1902, in Mount Pleasant, Mich.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state for the committee, please, what your educational training has been?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I have completed elementary, 3½ years of high school. I have had secretarial college work, graduate, and I have taken teletype typing, interior decorating, restaurant management, and so forth.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Detroit?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Practically all my life.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you outline to the committee what your employment background has been, please?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I have done secretarial work in the past for the Michigan Central Depot. I have managed a restaurant, and, I have done technical work including bookkeeping for the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Baldwin, at a trial before the Internal Security Board in Washington, D. C., you were disclosed by the Department of Justice to have been an undercover agent of the Federal Bureau of

Investigation. Will you explain to the committee briefly what led up to your joining the Communist Party?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Prior to my marriage to Harvey Baldwin, he was than my fiancé, in November, December of 1942, he suggested that I assist the Government, because of my secretarial knowledge. He took me downtown to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and introduced me to an FBI agent, with whom we had a brief conversation. At that time, he asked that we return after we had been married. We were married in February the 14th, 1943, and in April we returned to talk to this agent, and it was at that time the question of joining the Communist Party arose, so as to be able to report its activities. This agent promised me, at the time, he would let me know when the next Communist Party rally would be held.

I went into this thing not knowing exactly what the Communist Party was, and it was more or less to assure myself I would be able to handle it, or would care to handle it. In May—May 7—the agent called me and told me there would be a rally for Earl Browder—

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that May 7th the meeting was held?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That was prior to the meeting. He called me on the 7th and told me the rally would be held on the 10th of May.

Mr. TAVENNER. What year?

Mrs. BALDWIN. 1943. My husband and I attended this meeting, and joined directly following the speakers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the Communist Party member who actually recruited you into the party?

Mrs. BALDWIN. His name is Pete Kowal, and, he had been referred to me by David McKelvy White, who was setting up literature in the hall at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell the name of Kowal?

Mrs. BALDWIN. K-o-w-a-l.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the person who referred you to Kowal?

Mrs. BALDWIN. David McKelvy White. He was formerly educational director, I believe, and, he also handled literature. He is now deceased.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the middle name McKelvy?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I thought it was McKelvy.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, after you were recruited into the party, were you assigned to any particular cell or group of the party?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes. Approximately, the middle of May, 1943, I received my membership card, and, also, a notice of a meeting to be held at 5642 Michigan Avenue.

Mr. TAVENNER. What branch or what group of the Communist Party did you discover that to be?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That was then called section 3, Branch 157.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain in that branch or unit of the party?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Until November of 1943, at which time I was transferred to a newly organized group, or community group, which accommodated Eastside residents of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did it have a name?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes, the Frederick Douglas Community Group.

MR. TAVENNER. After that, were you assigned to any additional group?

MRS. BALDWIN. Yes. The following year, in June, of 1944, I was transferred to the 14th Congressional Group, a breakdown of the Frederick Douglas Group, because of the number of members.

MR. TAVENNER. During the time that you were a member of section 3, Branch 157, which was your first assignment, and the Frederick Douglas Group, your second assignment and the 14th Congressional District Group, which was your third assignment, did you occupy any position, administrative position or other type of position in the party?

MRS. BALDWIN. Yes. Upon entering the Frederick Douglas Group, I became what they called a group steward, and was responsible for keeping track of members, collecting of dues, recording it and reporting it to the membership of that group. I later took over the complete membership and dues assignment. At that time, I reported the dues and the membership to District 7.

MR. TAVENNER. When you say you reported it to district 7, what do you mean? How did you report it to district 7?

MRS. BALDWIN. Well, I would have to take a total or sum of the membership, plus the dues collected, and that is what would be taken to district 7. At that time, I carried the name of the group, only, and each person was given a number, and that is the way it was reported to Joe Burnstein of district 7, by numbers of a given group.

MR. TAVENNER. Each individual member was given a number?

MRS. BALDWIN. That is right.

MR. TAVENNER. While you were a member of the fourteenth congressional group, were you appointed to any State office of the Communist Party of the State of Michigan?

MRS. BALDWIN. No.

MR. TAVENNER. Did you, at any time, succeed to the position of membership secretary of the Communist Party?

MRS. BALDWIN. Yes, I eventually obtained that task, but, before that, I had entered what they called the group subdivision of the Worker¹ and the Daily Worker. It was put out on a group basis, on a rebate to their membership, and, I entered that phase of the work. Eventually I assisted Joe Burnstein, and, from Joe Burnstein to Millie Perlstein.² That is the position I held in 1946 and 1948.

MR. TAVENNER. I hand you a letter, a photostatic copy of a letter, purportedly written by you, which has already been introduced in evidence as Maki Exhibit No. 1, bearing date of October 21, 1947, addressed to "Dear Comrade Wayne," in which reference is made to your new responsibilities of collecting dues. Will you examine the exhibit, and tell us what that was about, and to whom it was addressed, and whether similar letters were mailed to her?

MRS. BALDWIN. Yes. Beginning September, October, 1947, when I received this assignment from Helen Allison and Phil Schatz, and other leaders of the party, I wrote these notes, or, I should say, these letters of notification of the fact that I had assumed this position to these people, letting them know where their dues would be paid and could be paid. In the case of out-State groups, which just hap-

¹ Sunday edition of the Communist Daily Worker.

² Millie Perlstein, known in the Communist Party as Mildred Pierce.

pened to be the case of many members, data was sent directly to my home.

Mr. TAVENNER. To your home address?

Mrs. BALDWIN. To my home address.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your home address at that time?

Mrs. BALDWIN. 16272 East State Fair.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why is it the communications were to be directed to you at your home, rather than some other place?

Mrs. BALDWIN. They didn't wish them coming to the district 7 office.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know the reason for that?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Well, later on, I was told the reason. That was for security reasons. The letters were naturally to contain money, and, also, the address of the person sending it.

Mr. TAVENNER. In order to further explain the matter, I will read the letter. It says:

DEAR COMRADE WAYNE: This note is in the form of an introduction. I am Toby Baldwin, and have been assigned the responsibility of collecting dues from out-of-State groups of the Communist Party of Michigan, which post was formerly held by Mildred Pierce. Phil Schatz, of the district office, will verify this. It is suggested that you mail dues money from the Grand Rapids group to the address above, specifying months and amounts paying for. Names and addresses will not be mentioned by this member. Any other questions, such as transfers, and so forth, will be taken care of by me, also. Records from the district show no date as to the last payment of dues, so, no doubt, you have money on hand which you will wish to send me very soon, since the 1948 registration is under way; upon receipt of which I shall immediately send you receipts and stamps to cover same. Should you have any other ideas as to my contacting you, please let me know.

Until then, I am fraternally yours,

TOBY BALDWIN,

Outstate Membership and Dues Secretary.

Mr. WOOD. I wonder if she happens to know to whom that particular communication is addressed?

Mr. TAVENNER. It is noted that the communication is addressed to "Dear Comrade Wayne." Do you know the last name?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I think it is Salisbury.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was it that you said you succeeded in this position?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Mildred Perlstein, who went under the name of Pierce in the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. They are the same person?

Mrs. BALDWIN. The same person.

Mr. TAVENNER. One and the same. Did you have any special name in the Communist Party, other than your true name?

Mrs. BALDWIN. The nickname I had carried practically all my life of Toby.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe I called you to the stand as a witness by that name.

Mrs. BALDWIN. You did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Baldwin, you have gone over with the members of the staff a breakdown of the Communist Party in 1948, during the time you were state membership secretary. I would like to ask you to read into the record, at this point, the Communist Party breakdown during the first part of 1948, as you outlined it to us.

Mrs. BALDWIN. During the first part of 1948, the party structure was on a territorial basis. Later in the year the shop clubs were withdrawn from the community sections and they established sections within their own rights; namely: (1) Ford section; (2) Automobile miscellaneous section. The party structure was as follows: We had a lower East Side section, which was comprised of six groups, known as the Downtown Club, the First Congressional Club, the Fourteenth Congressional Club, Nat Turner Club, Midtown and Oakland. We had a West Side community section, with groups as follows: Michigan, Delray, Italian-American, Detrola, Packinghouse, and Dave White.¹

The West Side industrial section: Diesel, Packinghouse, UE Detrola, and UE Vickers. We had a Lincoln section, but I don't know what groups came under that category. It was more or less, of a professional nature.

North Detroit area, North Detroit section: Hamtramck Club, Hamtramck Youth, and Polish-American. Wayne County youth section: Wayne University Club, Joe York Club, Herman Boettcher Club. That is a section of the youth completely by itself; usually contained members going to the university, either Michigan State or Wayne, which is in Detroit.

Northwest section had two groups called the Tom Paine and Ben Davis. Professional section: This professional section is the hidden section of the party. The names are not known, with the exception of, perhaps, a few. It is called the Whitman, the Vesey, the Medical—

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the name Vesey?

Mrs. BALDWIN. V-e-s-e-y. John's Group—

Mr. TAVENNER. John, did you say John Group?

Mrs. BALDWIN. John's, J-o-h-n-'s; Foster, the Pen & Pencil. That is or was comprised of members of the UOPWA. The Sholem Aleichem, which was a Jewish group.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell it, please?

Mrs. BALDWIN. S-h-o-l-e-m A-l-e-i-c-h-e-m. The Cauldwell and the Dreiser. We had a membership at large section, which, for one reason or another, could not be stationed in one group. Now and then, we found a seaman in there when he was going from port to port.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you explain again what the purpose of the group was?

Mrs. BALDWIN. For people who were not stationary, or didn't wish to be known.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, persons who were not at one place long enough to become positively identified with a particular group would be put in that particular cell?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes. He wouldn't be able to participate in the activities because of the short term he would be with them.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of it?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Membership at large.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

Mrs. BALDWIN. We had No. 1 and No. 2.

Mr. TAVENNER. You also stated that persons placed in that group were persons whose identity was sought to be kept especially secret?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Some, not all.

¹ Named for Communist David McKelvy White, deceased.

Mr. TAVENNER. Some were?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes. Then, we have—

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me follow that a little bit further. I thought, for the most part, all persons in the Communist Party, except those who had been declared to be open members, were to be kept secret?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Well, how could you be, when you were participating in activities?

Mr. TAVENNER. So, you mean, it was the purpose to keep the Communist Party's membership secret even from other Communists?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is the point I want to be certain about.

Mrs. BALDWIN. That is right. We had a miscellaneous section, which, I don't know how it was grouped, but it was called the midland, Hungarian, and we had a farmer group.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell in what area of the State that group was centered?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Well, at that particular time, it would be up around New Haven, because, that is where one of our functionaries was situated. We had a miscellaneous section of trade unions, seamen, teamsters, and Dearborn.

Auto miscellaneous section: This is the section to which I was attached in the early spring of 1948 as membership and dues secretary. It was a newly established section, put up as special concentrated points. There were two of them at that time. This one, which comprised the shop group of the Communist members within Detroit, and then, the Ford section, which concentrated on the Ford shops in Dearborn.

Under the auto miscellaneous section, we have a number of groups, known as Bohn, or local 208; Eddie Elberts, Briggs, Chrysler, or Joe Hill; Hudson, Dodge, Haywood, Murray, which was really Murray Body; Midland, which is Midland Steel; Packard, Plymouth, and we have a miscellaneous steel; Timken, local 155, No. 205, which was known as the Allen Industries. We had local 835.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me stop you there. What do you mean by local 155 and local 835? How was the name derived?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That was the name of the local of the trade union local.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, the Communist Party cell within that particular local bore the same name as the local?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. But, you don't mean to infer that the whole local 155 was, by any means, Communist?

Mrs. BALDWIN. No. They just took the name, because it was their trade union local.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

Mrs. BALDWIN. No. 922. That is also a local; and, we had GM east, which, in reality, took in the Chevrolet transmission.

We come to our Ford section. That was broken down according to departments. It also applies in the same way as the auto shop; because they are listed, it doesn't mean that that particular department at Ford's is Communist. It is the members of the Communist Party within that section. They are, Ford Highland Park, Ford Dearborn. Under Ford Dearborn are these various departments: Spring and

upset, pressed steel, motor building, plastic, jobbing, open hearth, axle, ABC, and foundry.

Mr. TAVENNER. What does ABC refer to?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does that complete the breakdown?

Mrs. BALDWIN. No. We have an outside section. This includes all of Michigan.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you proceed, then?

Mrs. BALDWIN. It pinpoints the Communists concentrated within these towns; Willow Run-Kaiser-Frazer. That meant within Willow Run, there was the Kaiser-Frazer Plant and the Communists within it; Pontiac, Flint, Grand Rapids, Jackson, Monroe, Kalamazoo, and Ann Arbor. Ann Arbor was very significant, inasmuch as it contained our Michigan State College people. Within that were three groups, called——

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean, within the university and within the college?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Well, they were mostly college students that were within Ann Arbor, and, maybe, a few who didn't go to college. The majority of them did.

Mr. TAVENNER. The majority of the members was college students?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes, within the two groups. One was known as the A. A. town-youth group.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what the initial stands for?

Mrs. BALDWIN. No, I don't. I am sorry. Ralph Neafus-Youth.

Mr. WOOD. Would you spell that?

Mrs. BALDWIN. R-a-l-p-h N-e-a-f-u-s. Haldane. Traverse City, St. Joe, Benton Harbor. St. Joe is St. Joseph-Benton Harbor. They were twin groups. Muskegon, South Haven, Gladwin, Lansing. Now, here is another important one. With the exception of one person, that group was never known. I had information directly from Mildred Perlstein, herself, that this contained teachers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the name of that cell again?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Lansing.

Mr. POTTER. Mrs. Baldwin, did that contain teachers of the public school system or in the colleges?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Colleges; in fact, I was told there were two professors in this group. This is hearsay; it was told to me. Ypsilanti. We have the Upper Peninsula, with 14 nearby locals. They were called Rock, Marquette, Eben Junction, Calumet, Iron Wood Community, and Iron Wood Industrial, Escanaba, E-s-c-a-n-a-b-a, Moss—I don't believe I am going to pronounce this next one correctly; I will just spell it. O-n-t-o-n-o-g-a-n.

Mr. POTTER. You are getting close to home when you are in the Upper Peninsula.

Mr. BALDWIN. Hancock, Iron River, Iron Mountain, Bruce's Crossing, and Baraga.

Mr. TAVENNER. That breakdown of the Communist organization in the State of Michigan was correct as of what period?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That would be from 1948, with variations, until 1950. Many of these groups would fuse together, however, within a given section, and, probably, at different points, or probably, at the latter part of 1950, when we went underground, they would be broken

up completely and lose their distinction, because of going into groups of 3 and 5.

MR. POTTER. Who was the head of the Upper Peninsula Communist Party apparatus; who was the contact that you made, or the functionary?

MRS. BALDWIN. Matt Savola.

MR. POTTER. Is he the gentleman from Iron Wood?

MRS. BALDWIN. Yes.

MR. TAVENNER. To get clearly before the committee your own particular assignment following your membership in the Fourteenth congressional group, which was the last group that you testified about your membership, were you assigned to any particular—that is, any other unit of the party?

MRS. BALDWIN. Yes. In the spring of 1948, I was assigned to the auto miscellaneous section as membership and dues secretary. Upon that assignment, I was transferred from the Fourteenth congressional group into the Briggs Group, although I was not within the Briggs plant, nor was I a union member. That was a front group. Oscar Rhodes was a member in there. Of course, he worked at Briggs. Saul Wellman and Carl Winter.

MR. TAVENNER. You spoke of the Communist party going underground in 1950. What do you mean by that?

MRS. BALDWIN. Well, beginning in the spring of 1948, or, even prior to that time, in November 1947, when we usually began our registration for the year to follow, or, in other words, our 1948 membership, certain security measures were authorized by district 7. There were to be no records kept, no phone calls made, and, if there was a phone call made, no names were to be mentioned on that. All lists, membership lists, any Communist information about an individual member or group as a whole was to be destroyed. We even went thoroughly into the fact of putting into our section office supplies and mimeograph machines, to be used at any time when we could not operate in the open. They would be used for leaflets and agitation within the shops, perhaps, or a given issue. From then on, it was announced by Dr. Jackson¹ in May 1948, that each section, and, particularly, the lower East Side section to which I belonged at that time, was to be broken down into groups of 50, and, each group would function as one group, or as one cell. On that point, we went into no registration for 1949. There were no registration cards issued in 1949, 1950, or 1951, for security reasons.

In October 1950, I was called to my section organizer's home for a special meeting, at which time he told me that the party was going underground, and was establishing an underground apparatus. That apparatus would contain a reserve membership, and that I was to be one of those reserves; that I should follow the party decision of not contacting Communist Party members, or to have anything to do with Communist Party members. I could not attend meetings, or even be seen, or to contact anyone that would be labeled a Communist. I even asked him at that point if I could attend the Civil Rights Congress. He said, absolutely not, because, I was a member of that organization at that time. He said that the decisions handed down should be abided by, and, that is what happened from then on. In between that period,

¹ James E. Jackson, member, State committee of the Communist Party of Michigan.

however, prior to October 1950, there was a meeting called on the East Side, immediately following the dissolution of the auto miscellaneous section, which was in July 1950. At that meeting, Nat Ganley presided. He gave us the same outline as I have mentioned, including that members to be registered in the future were going to be on the basis of "Do you wish to be a Communist at this time," with a flat "yes" or "no" answer. He said that the auto groups within the area of the Fourteenth congressional section were to be integrated into the community group of the Fourteenth congressional section, which, at that time, was a 14 group, to lose their identity; that the shop groups were to hold no more than three members, community groups no more than five; that this would be the last time that this body would hold a meeting as a whole or even in part. A leader was selected for each one of these groups, which was to be the complete nucleus of the cell. In other words, the one leader is the one who contacts the other members of the party, if there was going to be a meeting of three or four members at a home. That leader was to contact persons personally and take up their problems. We were to wait for orders from district 7, or some leader, before we functioned in any way at all. At that meeting, several leaders were chosen, and, I was one of them. I had a cell. I have not heard from the leader, or I didn't hear from the leader until July, about July 1951, at which time Oscar visited me at home.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you say who visited you?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Oscar Rhodes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, I would like to understand a little more fully about the effect of the new type of organization. As I understand it, you were placed among a secret group, to the extent that you were not permitted to attend and Communist Party meetings, not attend the Civil Rights Congress, because you were to be kept secret.

Mrs. BALDWIN. There is a little error there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That was in the fall, the late fall of 1950, that I was selected as a reserve.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is what I want to understand: What you meant by being chosen as a reserve. I want to understand that clearly.

Mrs. BALDWIN. I stated that it was earlier. He said that the reason I was to be chosen was, these particular chosen people would be able to take over leadership when the other leaders were arrested or jailed.

Mr. TAVENNER. So that the purpose of the reserve was to protect you for future activity and leadership in the Communist Party?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you said your organizer advised you of that?

Mrs. BALDWIN. An organizational secretary.

Mr. TAVENNER. An organizational secretary?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was his name?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Oscar Rhodes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Oh. I believe you also referred to a Dr. Jackson having explained this matter at, probably, a Communist meeting.

Mrs. BALDWIN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who is Dr. Jackson?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Dr. Jackson was a physician, and was the educational director of Michigan, our district set-up.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then, it followed, that in July 1950 the groups, the Communist Party cells, were broken down into these smaller groups, which you defined as being part of the movement to go underground?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Well, approximately, at the dissolution of the auto miscellaneous section, which took place in July; immediately following that, in August, is when the meeting was held or called, which contained the shops within different miscellaneous groups on the East Side, because that is where the meeting was. It was on the territorial basis, or regional basis.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, I would like to go back, at this point, to the beginning of your experience in the Communist Party. You stated that the first group—

Mr. WOOD. I believe, at this point, we will take a little recess for 10 minutes.

(Whereupon a short recess was taken.)

Mr. WOOD. Let us have order, please.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Baldwin, I would like to ask you a few more questions about the action of the Communist Party and dividing into groups of five and three, and going underground, as you called it. As I understand it, that was done primarily for the purposes of secrecy.

Mrs. BALDWIN. That is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, is it not true that the work of espionage, sabotage, and other activities of a similar character in the Communist Party has always been done with an equal secrecy and kept in equal secrecy by the Communist Party?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee whether going underground with the small cells of the Communist Party, the groups of three and five, enables the Communist Party to accomplish its aims and to work efficiently, or whether it is a hindrance to the party in the work which it seeks to do?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Well, being an underground apparatus, undercover, and in secrecy, it definitely would interfere with their function.

Mr. TAVENNER. This committee from time to time has been given some credit for weeding out members of the Communist Party by bringing them out into the open. It has also been criticized in some instances for driving the party underground. But if your statement is correct, it would seem that it has hindered or at least the party going underground has hindered it in the accomplishment of its objectives.

Mrs. BALDWIN. It would have to hinder it. It would definitely have to hinder it. By exposing them, exposing the Communists, the subversive elements of this country, you are educating the public to begin with supposing the underground cells will become active, at least partially active; I feel that once they know how a Communist acts, what his activities are, they will know him.

Mr. JACKSON. May I ask a question at that point, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. To what extent does a Communist fear exposure, if at all?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Well, I am glad you added that. They don't fear exposure as long as they are working in the open. But they would fear exposure underground.

Mr. JACKSON. If they had been up to that time concealed?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That is correct.

Mr. JACKSON. Is the utility of an exposed Communist affected in any way?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That is no longer a use.

Mr. JACKSON. He is no longer useful, once exposed?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That is correct.

Mr. JACKSON. That is all.

Mr. POTTER. So by that statement, Mrs. Baldwin, we will say in Detroit there are many persons who have never been identified as members of the party, but once the identity has been made, the Communist Party has lost a useful worker for them; is that true?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That is absolutely true.

Mr. POTTER. So by exposing people that haven't been exposed, the Communist Party has suffered a setback?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That is too true.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, you referred to the fact that there were professional cells, the members of which have always been kept a matter of secrecy. What is the importance in the new activity of the Communist Party of the professional cells as regards their importance before this underground movement began? Do they have any different part to play now than before? Or is their place of greater importance now, or how does it figure into the plan of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Well, just simple logic will tell you that now those unidentified and unknown members, even to the Communist Party membership, are almighty important. They have never been known. They have never been exposed.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you say "never been known," do you mean never have been known to other members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes. They have never been exposed to other members of the Communist Party, with the exception of perhaps the leadership, Helen Allison and Carl Winter.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, with regard to that, in our hearings which we conducted in Los Angeles, last September, a witness by the name of Mr. Ashe, who was an organizer of the Communist Party in Los Angeles in 1936, testified on the fight within the Communist Party in California as to whether members of the professions would be permitted to form a secret and separate cell from that of other Communist members. He testified that it was the orthodox view of the Communist Party that there should be no distinction, that they should all be members of the usual cells of the party, but Mr. Ashe and his friends went out with the result that there were cells formed in Los Angeles among the professions for the purpose of secrecy of its members to keep them secret from other members of the Communist Party, and they were kept secret. During our subsequent investigation there, we have produced testimony on the existence of a cell among the doctors, of which about 20 or 25 doctors have been named in public session as members of the cell. We have demonstrated the existence of a cell among the legal fraternity—at least 5 lawyers have testified that they were members until they discovered the true purposes of

the Communist Party and got out, and they, too, have named thirty-some members of the legal profession in Los Angeles alone who have been members of a professional cell, and our work is continuing there.

Mr. JACKSON. You might mention, Mr. Counsel, the newspaper cell.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. We have found the same type of professional cell among newspaper people, and 8 or 10 members of that cell have been identified, and at least 2 or 3 have testified as to their former membership in it.

Now, I would like to know whether in this area, Detroit, when you speak of professional cells, whether you are referring to professional cells within particular professions, such as a cell among the lawyers, a cell among the doctors, a cell among newspaper employees or members of the press in any way, or whether you are speaking of a professional cell to which all professions, probably teachers, office workers, or others join. Can you enlighten the committee on that?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I do not have absolute information on that, but knowing how the Communist Party works and with the propaganda and so forth, I would assume that there would be a group of say medical people and a group of lawyer people because of their given work. What I mean is, they have definite things to do as lawyers for the Communist Party. The doctors have definite things to do as doctors in the Communist Party.

Now, probably at this point with the underground apparatus in operation, you will probably find contained in that professional group, even D. S. R. workers, civil service, and municipal workers. Now, whether they made a group together, that I wouldn't know.

Mr. PORTER. The thing that is interesting to me, Mrs. Baldwin, is this fact: The Communist Party shows that despite their claim of democracy, they go out of their way to protect a certain class, a certain group of people. They are very conscious of the security of the professional units while they are not so careful about the security of the members who might be organized in the field of labor or in other segments of our society. I am just wondering how consistent that is with their claims of being a so-called democratic group.

Mrs. BALDWIN. Well, professional people are more or less—you could call them the intelligentsia class. They have a given category. The little rank and filer, don't forget, is the guy who goes out and carries out these policies. He is the one who runs on the street with the leaflets. He is the one who participates in picket lines.

Mr. PORTER. He is the one who carries their ball.

Mrs. BALDWIN. He is the one who actually carries their policy through.

Mr. JACKSON. Is that the classless society?

Mrs. BALDWIN. It is supposed to be.

Mr. JACKSON. It doesn't sound like it to me.

Mr. PORTER. And heaven forbid, come the revolution, the guy who is on the picket line would not be the man to assume the power and the authority, but the so-called intellectual group or your professional groups would be the kingpins in such a society; is not that true?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of the membership in any professional cell of telephone operators, for instance?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes. We recruited, I believe in 1948 or 1949, several young girls who were just graduated from college and had gone in as telephone operators, and there was quite a fuss made at that time that they must be brought in and kept quiet—I mean it should be kept quiet that they were in the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the reason for the Communist Party desiring to keep the names of telephone operators especially secret by placing them in professional cells?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Well, for the same reason that they would want to keep the lawyers secret, or that they would want to keep the D. S. R. secret or anybody that would be involved in getting news out or carrying through transportation. They would want them in every strategic point so that if the time ever came, they would have them there to take over.

Mr. POTTER. When it was time to pull the trigger, they would be available?

Mrs. BALDWIN. They would be on the spot.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, let us at this point go back to your first connection or affiliation with section 3 of branch 157 of the Communist Party. Where did that group to which you were first assigned hold its meetings?

Mrs. BALDWIN. They held their meetings on the West Side, 5642 Michigan Avenue. That later became the Ford section headquarters.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you give us the names of the officers such as the chairman, secretary, educational director, and any other officers whose names you can recall of the first group to which you were assigned.

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes. The chairman at that time was Sue Showerman, S-h-o-w-e-r-m-a-n; recording secretary, Stephanie Allan, wife of Bill Allan—

Mr. POTTER. That is the Bill Allan of the—

Mrs. BALDWIN. Daily Worker.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like for you to give us the names also of other members of that cell.

Mrs. BALDWIN. Well, there were only 3 or 4. There was Harvey Baldwin, who was my husband at that time, myself, the person who recruited me, Pete Kowal, Julius Sorbonya, S-o-r-b-o-n-y-a, and two members who used to drop in now and then at a meeting, Jack White, who later went into the Navy and returned to be an organizer of Flint, Mich.—

Mr. TAVENNER. A different person from the Mr. White who is connected with the local radio station?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Definitely so.

The Bill Allan of the Daily Worker is not to be confused with a Bill Allen who lives in the same neighborhood. Bill A-l-l-e-n wants this definitely understood.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. I think it is very important, in giving this information, that you give it as far as you can in a way that the individual you are referring to is being definitely identified so as to save confusion of that character.

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. You gave the name of a member of the Communist Party who attended the meetings but who was not a member of that group. That was Jack White.

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you say there were two?

Mrs. BALDWIN. No; just the one, and also a Ray Blossom, B-l-o-s-s-o-m, who came in frequently to do mimeo typing in that building, and he did not participate in the meeting but he was present.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Oh, yes; he was a member of the Twelfth Street Club.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of what club?

Mrs. BALDWIN. On the Twelfth Street Club.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then you were transferred as you stated, to the Douglas Club?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Fred Douglas Club? Who were its officers?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Jerry Boyd, B-o-y-d, was chairman; Marion Elder Patrick, P-a-t-r-i-c-k—

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me interrupt there a moment. Before asking you that, I should have asked you to state the approximate time or period that these persons held these offices.

Mrs. BALDWIN. That would be in November 1943.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. If you will proceed.

Mrs. BALDWIN. Marion Patrick dealt with membership and also with education; Martha Schkurman, S-e-h-k-u-r-m-a-n, was literature director. I, myself, was the club steward as well as John Sobczak, S-o-b-c-z-a-k. I later became the membership director, replacing Dorothy Brinich—

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you spell the last name, please?

Mrs. BALDWIN. B-r-i-n-i-c-h. Those are all the directors that I recall at this time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall the names of any other persons who were members of that group?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes. I have many of them: Jeannie Kudlik, K-u-d-l-i-k, Hope Smith—

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, let me suggest that if you recall readily any activity of the individuals or their employment at the time, you might give us that information to help identify the individual, not only by name but by his or her importance in the party.

Mrs. BALDWIN. Well, I didn't know them too well at that time. You see, being just organized and then leaving it in June, I was not too familiar with their type of work.

Mr. TAVENNER. Very well.

Mrs. BALDWIN. There were many, many others attached to that club, as I said before. When we broke it down and went into the various territorial sections, we had a membership of around 450.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then it would be some duplication to go into that now as distinguished from going into it when it was broken down into groups at a later time?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes; it would be.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, you stated that you were transferred into the Fourteenth Congressional Club. Who were the officers of that club?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Stanley Adamski, A-d-a-m-s-k-i, became chairman. Carl Palmquist, P-a-l-m-q-u-i-s-t, was educational director. Martha

Schkurman was literature director. Milton Schleicher, S-c-h-l-e-i-c-h-e-r, worked on the press.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean by "worked on the press"?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Well, he would mobilize members of the Fourteenth Club to distribute and sell papers throughout that neighborhood. I handled it for a while but Milton really organized it.

Then myself as membership and dues secretary.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, who were the officers of the auto miscellaneous section, and what date can you place the persons as officers whom you are going to name?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Well, the auto miscellaneous was organized in 1948 along with the Ford section as special concentration points of the auto industry as a decision handed down by a new constitution which had been made, I believe, in 1945, but which had not been carried through; they became more conscious of the fact that they had to get into the plants for special concentration, and that is what those two sections were organized for.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, now, will you give us the names of the officers of the auto miscellaneous section?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Nat Ganley—G-a-n-l-e-y—organizer. He was the former business agent of local 155.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that UAW 155?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes; it is.

Mr. TAVENNER. Proceed.

Mrs. BALDWIN. Oscar Rhodes was organizational secretary, who worked at Briggs plant. He had come from New York, his home town, to help in the auto industry concentration.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, he had been a member of the Communist Party before coming to Detroit?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Oh, he had been a Communist member for years; I mean practically all his life.

Mr. TAVENNER. And was sent here to this area to assist in the Communist Party work in the automotive industry?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I wouldn't say that he was actually sent here, but he wanted to come here as he told me that he participated in the concentration work.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

Mrs. BALDWIN. We had a finance committee, which was a way of raising funds for that section, for the party as a whole when they had their yearly or semiyearly fund drives. That was composed of Paul Brooks, chairman; Eddie Pietrowski, P-i-e-t-r-o-w-s-k-i—and Charles Walters, W-a-l-t-e-r-s—Harry Boskey, B-o-s-k-e-y—Malcolm Wright, W-r-i-g-h-t—Imogene Brantley Le'Garde, L-e'-G-a-r-d-e.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the officers of the clubs which comprised the auto miscellaneous section?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That is quite a detailed report. We had many clubs within that section.

The Bohn Aluminum Club or the Communist members in local 208. Fred—

Mr. TAVENNER. When you give these numbers, are you referring to the UAW?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Clubs?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes. I am sorry.

Fred Williams, chairman; Donnie Baron—B-a-r-o-n—who was a party member and fairly active, but dropped out in 1949; Ruth Polson—P-o-l-s-o-n—was membership and dues secretary, she was also secretary for the Heywood local situated in Schiller Hall, a building on Gratiot Avenue; Hilliard Chamblis—C-h-a-m-b-l-i-s—was just a member, and the other two are members, too; which I shall name: Nick Swetnick—S-w-e-t-n-i-c-k—and Stanley Adamski—A-d-a-m-s-k-i.

We have the Briggs Club, and the point that I wanted to make very sure of here, I shall mention it probably again and again, is the fact that when I say the "Briggs Club," it means the Communist members within a group, and they have named it the Briggs Club because they worked in that factory.

There is a duplication here, but for complete identity I shall name them again:

Milton Schleicher, chairman; Oscar Rhodes, educational director; myself, member-at-large; Carl Winter; Saul Wellman was attached to this club for organizational purposes——

Mr. TAVENNER. What was Carl Winter's position at that time?

Mrs. BALDWIN. He was chairman of district 7, or in other words, chairman of the State of Michigan of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, was he an employee at Briggs?

Mrs. BALDWIN. No; he was not. This was an undercover shop. I mean I was not an employee at Briggs, either. Saul Wellman was not an employee at Briggs, either.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, is it correct that all Communist Party functionaries had to belong to a club located at some place?

Mrs. BALDWIN. They did, and they had to pay dues.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

Mrs. BALDWIN. Don DeBlois, De B-l-o-i-s, member.

We had the Dodge Club of Communist members within that Dodge plant:

Harry Boskey, chairman; Sally Davis, membership and dues; Edith Van Horn—V-a-n H-o-r-n—educational director; Kurt Davis, a member; Paul Henley——

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, Paul Henley was a witness before this committee, and the same is true of Fred Williams who was identified by the witness as the chairman of the Bohn Aluminum.

Mr. JACKSON. Did either of them give any testimony?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir. I believe if I said "testimony," I should correct it. They appeared as a witness.

Mr. POTTER. They were sworn.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you proceed, please.

Mrs. BALDWIN. The other two are members only. That is, they held no post: Robert Purdy, P-u-rd-y; Paul Endicott, E-n-d-i-c-o-t-t.

Now we have the Eddie Elberts Club with Eddie Pietrowski as chairman and Sally, his wife, as a member.

G. M. East——

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, that seems to have been quite a family affair at the Eddie Elberts Club. Were there other members?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes; there were two, but they were of a national group, never put in an appearance. Their dues were collected by Eddie and brought to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. Do you know the meaning of the initials "G. M."? Does that stand for General Motors?

Mrs. BALDWIN. General Motors, and this particular one, East, having the "East" in it meant the Chevrolet transmission located on the East Side:

Fred Fische—F-i-s-c-h-e—chairman. Bob Cummins——

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that the same as Robert Cummins?

Mrs. BALDWIN. It is Robert Cummins.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, Robert Cummins is also an individual who appeared as a witness here.

Mr. WOOD. Under subpoena?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. POTTER. And he refused to answer questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mrs. BALDWIN. C-o-m-m-u-n-i-s.

We have two groups which were later taken from the auto miscellaneous section, but I have them so I will list them: we had group 1, which comprised seven members: Julius Sobonya, S-o-b-o-n-y-a, as chairman; Jake Jacobowitz, J-a-c-o-b-o-w-i-t-z, as membership and dues secretary. We had a Mr. Gottlieb, G-o-t-t-l-e-i-b, as just a member. The other one is a member, Sue Showerman and then three others whom I did not know.

Heywood No. 2:

Hy Fireman, F-i-r-e-m-a-n, as chairman; Hank Ripken, R-i-p-k-e-n, as dues secretary; L. Marksian, M-a-r-k-s-i-a-n, member, and we had a Nerich, N-e-r-i-c-h, a member, plus three others.

The Chrysler Club was also known as the Joe Hill Club with Jack Pomppquist, Jr., as chairman, Clarence Sanders, dues secretary, Leon England, later replacing Clarence as dues secretary, and Van Brook, press work; Harold Wells, a member.

Hudson——

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment. When you stated Van Brook, what was the character of his duties?

Mrs. BALDWIN. On the press?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. Is it the same general character of duties that you described a few moments ago for another member?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes. That also includes—I should have mentioned this: A press director participates in city-wide mobilizations such as we had a red Sunday to sell 5,000 papers, and it is up to them to organize the clubs and get the people out on the street with the paper.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the first name of Van Brook?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I understand that Van is the given name and Brook is the last name.

The Hudson group of Communists, Sidney—also known as Scotty—Barclay, B-a-r-c-l-a-y, chairman; Cliff Bollin, B-o-l-l-i-n, dues; Ernie Sorenson, S-o-r-e-n-s-o-n, a member; Shirley Bollin, Cliff Bollin's wife, was a member of the Hudson Club although she didn't work there and she became my assistant in helping me with the technical work for the section.

Paul Brooks is the chairman of the Murray Club, with a member called Roy Maniken, M-a-n-i-k-e-n, and two other whom I did not know by last name, called Pete and Tony.

We have come to the Packard Club; Chris Alston as chairman, A-l-s-t-o-n; Felix Maise, M-a-i-s-e; Robert—known as Bob—Brown worked on the press; and Sven Falk, F-a-l-k, is a member.

The West Side Industrial originally was composed of two plants and later became consolidated and known as the Timken Club: Henry Jansen, J-a-n-s-e-n, as chairman; Clem Dalton as a member; and Gus Jurist as a member.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with the wife of Gus Jurist? Did you have any information as to her connection with the party?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Not in this country, I didn't, but his wife was involved in the espionage charge in Ottawa, Ontario, the first revealing of the espionage within that locality.

Plymouth: Charles Lindouf was chairman. He is now in Sweden, having left in the latter part of 1949; and John Gustafson, G-u-s-t-a-f-s-o-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the name of Charles Lindouf?

Mrs. BALDWIN. L-i-n-d-o-u-f.

Mr. JACKSON. Did he leave this country of his own free will, or was he deported?

Mrs. BALDWIN. No, he left it voluntarily, I understand.

Local 155 Club, and again I repeat this is the Communist Club: John Nowak, N-o-w-a-k; William or Bill Chandler, C-h-a-n-d-l-e-r; Walter Christie, C-h-r-i-s-t-i-e, dues secretary.

Local 205 Club: James Walker, W-a-l-k-e-r, chairman; Imogene Williams Brantley Le'Garde, as dues and membership; Gurley Walker, the wife of Jimmy Walker, a member; Jerry Boyd, Phil Hommer, H-o-m-m-e-r. I would like to explain further on this local 205, these members were all within the Allen Industries plant——

Mr. TAVENNER. What industry?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Allen Industries plant. Mr. James Walker had held a post in that local 205, and had been accused, I believe I have this correct, as being a Communist and was fired, and we had quite a bit of publicity about this. I am sure the reporters will recall it.

We go to local 835, there is only one person to my knowledge in that although there were three others recruited who never put in an appearance, nor did I receive the dues for them. The one and only member is Merrill Work.

Mr. TAVENNER. This is a convenient place, Mr. Chairman, for a break.

Mr. WOOD. We stand in recess until 2:15.

(Whereupon, at 12:45 p. m., the hearing was recessed until 2:15 p. m., the same day.)

AFTER RECESS

Mr. WOOD. Let us have order. Are you ready to proceed, counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. Mrs. Baldwin, will you tell the committee, please, what the maximum strength of the Fred Douglas Club was, that is, the maximum membership, if you recall?

Mrs. BALDWIN. The first part of 1944, in June rather, when we broke down on a territorial basis, it was approximately 450 strong.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you say was the strength of the Fourteenth Congressional Club?

Mrs. BALDWIN. At that time, we had approximately 20 members, and that would be paper members given to us. We found various members straggled throughout that were given to us from time to time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you please identify for the committee the names of those whom you can recall that you met as members, either of the Fred Douglas Club or the Fourteenth Congressional Club?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes. Hope Smith and Harold Smith, her husband. Stanley Adamski. Nick Swetnick. Nick Baltic, who was sometime in 1945 transferred out of the Fourteenth to Pittsburgh, Pa., where he became at that time a leader in the Yugoslav Congress. A. Monicelovich, he was a member who attended now and then but not too well known. Daniel Trees, who has a furniture store, was very active in the Yugoslav Congress and also belonged to what they called the Century Club of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask you—no, go ahead and I will come back to the question.

Mrs. BALDWIN. Eric Dearnley, who was at one time an officer of the Plymouth, local 51. He was then active in the Fourteenth Congressional Club; however, upon losing his post through elections of local 51, he became inactive and some argument within the party caused him to drop out.

Fred Gebelle was attached to local 51, Plymouth. He dropped out in approximately 1947, or the first part of 1948. He became inactive. I don't believe there are any remarks made by the party.

Jimmie or James Hampton never attended a meeting of the Fourteenth Club. He was from England, but dropped out in 1944 because he did not believe in the policies of the Communist Party.

George Cook, formerly of the Fourteenth Club, transferred in approximately 1947, to New York State. He had studied ministry in his early days. He would carry the policies through on the connections between the Communist Party and what religion stood for. The relationship between the two. He was literature director of the Fourteenth Club.

Melva Cook, his wife, was also active.

Henry, also known as Swede Jensen, whom I have mentioned before, was in the Fourteenth Club and later was transferred to the Timken. I understood he worked in the Timken plant.

Milton Schleicher, whom I have mentioned before, has been very active on the Michigan Herald newspaper, which was the publication of the Communist paper here in Detroit.

James Walker, I have already mentioned, and I believe I have already mentioned his activity.

Ruth Polson has already been mentioned.

Robert Brown, work unknown, has been very active both on press work and foot work. By "foot work" I mean the distribution of leaflets.

Don DeBlois I previously mentioned.

Otis Revis was an immigrant from the near Southern States, who came up here and was recruited into the club by Milton Schleicher because of having worked at the Briggs plant. He became over-zealous in his efforts to further the policies of the party and there was quite a disturbance in the Briggs plant, which was well known here in Detroit at that time. In his very words, he was "railroaded" out of Detroit.

Helen Palmquist, wife of Carl Palmquist, previously mentioned. She did attend meetings, but she was not active otherwise.

Carl Palmquist I have already identified as being literature director of the 14th, and he has been critically ill. He may be deceased by now.

Jack Palmquist is the son of Helen and Carl Palmquist and while a student at Michigan State, became very active in their youth groups. I believe in connection with Jack Gore and a few others, they furnished the youth Communist policies.

Royce Kennedy is a small-business man, having worked with electrical appliances, electrical wiring, and so forth. He formerly worked at General Motors Chevvie and participated in their ninety-some-odd day strike.

Joseph Schlicht was also a small-business man in concrete work.

L. Marksian has been mentioned before. He has not been too active, and I do not know at the present where he works.

Popescu, I believe the first initial is S, is of a national group. I have seen him on a couple of occasions and he has become involved with the Immigration Department, and I believe is up for deportation.

Billie Mogill was in the Fred Douglas Club at the time I was there. However, she was not transferred to the Fourteenth, but went to a club established on the west side where she was living at that time. She has been active in small community affairs.

George Mogill, her husband, likewise.

Joe Brandt—and he is not of the U. E. Joe Brandt, that is to be specified here—he left Detroit somewhere in 1945, and at that he was operating in Cleveland, Ohio, as a leader of the Communist Party. However, on occasions when they would need four or five fortified forces to come up here to carry on elections and election campaigns, and so forth, he would participate in that.

Fred Williams has already been mentioned as having been formerly business agent of 208. He has a very interesting background. It has been told to me by reliable sources, in fact by a Hungarian person of the national groups who taught the Hungarians Communist propaganda, that he has studied in Moscow, and under the trade-union policies and went under an alias by the name of Jack Wilson.

Emma Williams, his wife, has never, to my knowledge, participated in any of the active policies. However, she has attended closed meetings and various affairs.

Nick Daniels is said—and this is only hearsay—that he also belonged to the Yugoslav Congress. He has also become involved with the immigration officers and is up for deportation.

Agnes Grigg, Daniels' wife, went by the name of Grigg in the party and strictly forbade the name of Daniels being used. She never has been active.

Phil Hommer belonged to local 205 of the Allen Industries, and in later years, that would be immediately following 1945, 1946, secured an elevation in his position and at that time had an argument with the party. They accused him of going over to management and he dropped out. In 1949, I was told by Imogene Brantley, whom I previously identified, that he had been pointing out the Communists in Allen Industries to management.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the early part of your testimony regarding these individuals, you mentioned the name of someone having been a member of the Century Club. Which individual was that?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Daniel Trees.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the Century Club?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That was a club established—I have forgotten the exact year—1945, 1946, or 1947, within that period, whereby people would give \$100 or more per year to the party. They could either pay it in one lump sum or part it in part. Phil Raymond was the chairman of this club and at one of our meetings said that we should furnish him the names of anyone having a business within the party or anyone who was financially able to contribute to this, to furnish the name and he would follow the lead.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the membership in the Century Club kept secret from the rank and file members of the party?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I never did see it and there was never a report made on it. I mean, there was a report perhaps on how much money they had received, but no names were mentioned.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, this was the list of “angels” who contributed to the support of the party.

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes, if you wish to call them “angels.”

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever learn the number of financial “angels” in the Communist Party that were under the supervision of Mr. Raymond?

Mrs. BALDWIN. No; I never did, with the exception of Daniel Trees, who happened to come to district 7 headquarters and knew me and he gave me money, telling me what it was for and that it was part payment in the Century Club.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall how much he contributed at that time?

Mrs. BALDWIN. At that time, it was \$25.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have any knowledge of the period of time over which he was a contributor?

Mrs. BALDWIN. No. My information, my knowledge ended right there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have occasion to attend Communist Party meetings with members of the Ford section, functionaries or individuals in the Communist Party?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Oh, yes. The Ford section, until they began tightening the reins in the party, were the closed meetings—

Mr. TAVENNER. And you met with some of them and met them in those meetings?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I have seen them there, yes, I have entered them into the meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to ask you regarding the names of certain individuals who were members of the Ford branch of the Communist Party and, according to our information, ask you whether or not they were, and to ask you further to give us such additional identifying information as you have regarding them, particularly as to their place in the Communist Party. Are you acquainted with a person by the name of Eliot Marioniss?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That is spelled wrong.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that an improper spelling?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the proper spelling?

Mrs. BALDWIN. M-a-r-a-n-i-s-s.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with him?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state the circumstances?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I was very well acquainted with him when the Michigan Herald, a publication of the Communist Party, printed in Detroit, began their subscription drive the latter part of 1946. I was assigned as secretary of that paper. The building that we occupied was at 1310 Broadway. Eliot Maraniss, I understand, worked for the Times paper.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean the Times paper?

Mrs. BALDWIN. The Detroit Times newspaper. And he did not wish his identity to be known. He gave me and others in there strict orders not to call him by his name, either given or last, but to use the name "Ace" and he has been very active with that paper [Michigan Herald] from the time it was launched until it was dissolved, and is now called the Michigan Worker. I have seen him there as late as April or May of 1950.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with Mary Morrison?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Mary Morrison Maraniss—Mary Morrison is Eliot Maraniss' wife. Prior to her marriage she was an officer of the YCL. That would be approximately 1944, 1945. They had an office on Broadway near Grand Circus Park. I made it my business to go there. I wanted to make a direct connection between the YCL and the CP.

Mr. TAVENNER. By "YCL" you are referring to the Young Communist League?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I am. At that time, Bridget Polson and Mary Morrison were in charge of the office. I purchased a YCL bond from them and upon questioning and inquiries they denied any connection with the Communist Party. However, within a short period, when I was working at the district office, Bridget Polson put in an appearance and then embarrassedly tried to explain her situation. She shortly thereafter made a trip to Europe, to England, and has not returned, to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am interested in the YCL bond. What was the nature of that transaction?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I believe they were practically broke and that was the way of getting some money to carry their work on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have the bond?

Mrs. BALDWIN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it a good investment?

Mr. BALDWIN. I'm afraid it was a sort of a lost investment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with a person by the name of Verne Piazza?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell the first name?

Mrs. BALDWIN. V-e-r-n-e. I believe it was called LaVerne, but I may be wrong. Piazza was a dentist belonging to the medical division of the professional section. He is a dentist and he had his offices on John R. I have forgotten what cross street, but they were on John R.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether Communist Party meetings were held in any part of the building which he occupied?

Mrs. BALDWIN. No; I wouldn't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Frances Price? Was he a member of the party, did he attend meetings?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That is a woman. She was a Communist member because she attended closed meetings. She was put in the NAACP and when that party dissolved she was later put in the CRC office. CRC is the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you sit in Communist Party meetings with Harold Shapiro?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes; I have. He is from the Fur and Leather Workers Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with his wife?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes. Esther Shapiro. She had an attachment to the party, that is, she has organized several affairs which were not called Communist, but which were connected with them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did she sit in any closed Communist Party meetings?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes; she has.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall now what other organizations it was that she was connected with?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Well, there was some organization that she was trying to organize into one unit, sort of nationally, and I think she was also attached to the Civil Rights Congress. Now, that, I cannot be sure of, but I know she has been there many, many times.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you sat in closed Communist Party meetings with Frank Sykes?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes. He was at one time—and that would be the latter part of '47 and the first part of '48, approximately—he was chairman of what they called the lower east side section.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time sit in closed party meetings with Mrs. Mort Furay?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes. She was also a member of the 14th Congressional Club and went under the name of Corinne Furay.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with a person by the name of Ben Kocel?

Mrs. BALDWIN. K-o-c-e-l, yes. It is my understanding that he had received special training from the Communist Party upon his return from the Navy, and he has headed the Hamtramck youth group for some time. Then he went into just the Hamtramck group. He works on a newspaper.¹

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall anything about his membership in any nationality group?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Not other than the Hamtramck or Polish American, as it was called.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is he in this country now?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes, to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know anything more about his activities in the Communist Party?

Mrs. BALDWIN. None other than I have mentioned. He was termed as an organizer for the Hamtramck section and he attended organizers' council meetings.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you say he worked on a newspaper?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Well, he works in a newspaper office.

¹ Kocel is affiliated with the bilingual newspaper, Glos Ludowy, and with the firm that does its printing, Chene Printing. Chene Printing was formerly known as Unity Press, which, according to investigations of the committee, printed a majority of the Communist literature published in the Detroit area.

Mr. JACKSON. At the present time?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I couldn't possibly say.

Mr. JACKSON. As of the date of your last knowledge?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Is that in the city of Detroit?

Mrs. BALDWIN. No; I believe it is in Hamtramck.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Alice Kocel?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes. Alice Kocel was Ben Kocel's wife. He has attended closed meetings and I believe she also took a special Communist Party school training.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you sit in Communist Party meetings with Herman Burt?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes. Auto miscellaneous section council meetings. That would be the executive board meeting of the auto miscellaneous section.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Baldwin, the committee has from time to time heard evidence relating to the use of "mail drops." Are you acquainted with the use of "mail drops" in this area?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes, in fact, I was stationed at one of those "mail drops," sort of a secretive affair.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you just tell the committee about it, please?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Well, it was located at 320 East Milwaukee, and had been the apartment of Verna McAllister, who received special training, organizational training, that is, from the party and was sent to California. This apartment was taken over by Larry Davis. I stationed myself there on the average of three nights a week for several hours. The dues secretaries of the various clubs on the east side, and sometimes the west side, would call there to make their dues payments and straighten the membership out with me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what has become of Verna McAllister?

Mrs. BALDWIN. No; I have not heard from her or about her.

Mr. JACKSON. Where did she go in California, do you know?

Mrs. BALDWIN. No; I do not know what part of California she went to.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Baldwin, the committee has been making a study of such information as it has been able to obtain regarding a state organizational conference meeting of the Communist Party, which was held on April 21-22, of 1950, at 2705 Joy Road. Can you tell us who the persons were that checked the credentials of those who attended that meeting?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes. The meeting itself was organized under security measures. By that I mean, if you were not known, you would not have gotten in there. Paul Brooks, Oscar Rhodes, and I handled the credentials. In other words, we were the registrars. The reason that we three were picked was because Paul Brooks knew one section of the membership, Oscar Rhodes knew another, and in this case it would be Ford Section, and of course, I knowing the third portion of it, was selected.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understand that during the course of that meeting, Mr. Max Chait, a former employee of the Ford Motor Co., discussed the organizational work within the pressed steel unit and discussed the success that the workers had in that organization, particularly with respect to the support for Communist Party candi-

dates. Do you recall anything being said by Max Chait regarding that matter?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Do you mean as to how the workers could be influenced or had been influenced?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes. He gave quite a pep talk on that. He seemed quite well satisfied with himself and the fact that in the paint shop or paint division of the Ford plant, the air conditioning was not appropriate and that the men had become ill. He organized them on complaints and they won a victory. It spread from one condition to another. Now, in order to be able to tell you exactly how he felt about that, I will read it just as it is here.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean you took notes as to what had occurred?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are reading from an excerpt from your notes?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That is right, what he had to say about it.

Mr. TAVENNER. These are notes that you made at the time or immediately after the meeting?

Mrs. BALDWIN. During the meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. Will you proceed.

Mrs. BALDWIN (reading):

This type of action pursued by the Communist forces in other Ford plant units has resulted in a victory for the progressives at Ford who now control the executive board of Ford Local 600.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is what Mr. Chait had to say at that time?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That is what he had to say.

Mr. POTTER. When was this statement made? What was the time of the meeting?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That was in April or July—April 21, 22, of 1950.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, the Communist Party had brought about that successful action and was boasting about it.

Mrs. BALDWIN. They did boast about it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether a Marvin Gladstone was a speaker on that occasion?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes, he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did he have in the Communist Party at that time, Mrs. Baldwin?

Mrs. BALDWIN. He was chairman of the Washtenaw section which takes in Ann Arbor and locales. In other words, it is really the Washtenaw County.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the subject of his talk?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Not to be accurate, no, I wouldn't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the names of persons who were present at that meeting?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes, I can.

Mr. TAVENNER. This was the State organization conference that the Communist Party of the State of Michigan held in April 1950?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us, please, the names of all the persons of whom you have a record, who were present at that conference? May I ask you, first, whether all of these persons who attended, whether their names were cleared with the credential committee of which you were a member?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I shall continue on down the list and unless I say they were not cleared, it may be assumed that they were.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, in giving the names of these persons, if there was anyone whose name was not cleared by the credentials committee, you will explain the situation.

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes. Murray Borad. Mary Bray. Maurice Cook. Ray Haskell.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, Ray Haskell is one of those who appeared on the witness stand a few days ago. Will you proceed, Mrs. Baldwin?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Phil Schatz. Nelson Davis. Steve Simmons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Excuse me, Mrs. Baldwin, do you know where Nelson Davis worked?

Mrs. BALDWIN. At Ford, Dearborn. Dave Moore. Bill McKie. Dave Moore also worked at Ford.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell us anything about the activities of Bill McKie?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the Communist Party?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes. He has been very active in the Ford plant and in Dearborn, a known Communist, and called the daddy of the party here in Michigan. He is a charter member of the Communist Party. Russell Kitto, who worked at Cadillac Motors. Billie and George Mogill. Mary Maraniss. Saul Grossman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was Saul Grossman located in his work?

Mrs. BALDWIN. At that point, I don't know. But he has been an officer of the Civil Rights Congress and is the husband of Fay Gingold Grossman, secretary of district 7, Communist Party. Jack Raskin, who is, I believe, president or chairman of the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us any other information at this time regarding his activities in the Communist Party?

Mrs. BALDWIN. As far as the small club activities, I wouldn't know, but he did attend the closed State conferences and functionary meetings on occasion, but not every one. Jack Zarichney is a youth from Lansing, Mich. He became involved there and was accused of Communist affiliations and I believe he was expelled. I know there was quite a bit of publicity about it at the time.

John Cherveny.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, John Cherveny appeared as a witness before this committee.

Will you proceed, please, Mrs. Baldwin?

Mrs. BALDWIN. The next person's name, he went by the name of "Jessie." However, the real name, I don't know how you would pronounce it. It is in Spanish. It is J-e-s-u-s and the last name G-o-n-z-a-l-e-s.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was he from?

Mrs. BALDWIN. New Haven, Mich.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the early part of your testimony, you referred to a farmers' club of the Communist Party. I asked you what area of Michigan the work was centered with regard to the farmers, and you stated New Haven, because one of the principal leaders was from New Haven. Does that have any connection with this man's name?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes. He had been attached to the Fourteenth Congressional Club, and he was recruited, if my memory is correct, by

Stanley Adamski, also chairman of the Fourteenth Club, but later on they broke out into a branch of their own called the New Haven Branch, where they tried to mobilize farmers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he assigned the particular job of organizing the farmers?

Mrs. BALDWIN. No. He was attached to that club. Stanley Adamski was really the organizer of the farmers.

Mr. POTTER. Do you have any knowledge as to how successful they were in organizing the farmers?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Well, I guess they got quite a few to a meeting over a period of months, but the way it got back to me by Stanley Adamski himself is that they raided it and some of them were arrested and became involved in trouble with the Mount Clemens police up there, or the county police. Subsequently they were left with two members that they had originally begun with.

Mr. POTTER. They started with two and ended up with two?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That's right. Leonard Cohen. Lennie Cohen is a former Wayne University student. I understand that he has had quite a bit of trouble with the Wayne University faculty, distributing his propaganda, and having more than a voice in the way things were going. He also has been understudying as a scribe or reporter under the tutelage of Bill Allan. That has continued for a number of years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know anything of his effort to travel abroad to attend the Third World Festival in East Berlin in 1951, and the taking up of his passport before he left the country?

Mrs. BALDWIN. No. I was underground at that time.

Zina Brandi Haskell is the wife of Ray Haskell and has been very active in the party on various issues and many phases of it. She also worked for the Civil Rights Congress, and I understand had her finger somewhere in the Progressive Party.

Marion Young, the wife of Coleman Young, an officer—I don't know what you call his post—of the Progressive Party of Michigan. He was very active during the Wallace campaign year. Marion attended party schools with myself on the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which was taught by Ann Beiswenger. She took the first course, which was the first part of the book or touching on the first revolution. I do not remember seeing her much after that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did she attend the conference of 1950?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. All of these persons you named attended that conference, as I understand you.

Mrs. BALDWIN. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. What about Coleman Young? Did he attend the conference and did you list him as one of those who attended?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I am sorry, I do not recall his being there at this time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever attended closed party meetings at which Coleman Young was present?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Not at closed party meetings, but I attended an educational class in 1947 taught by Dr. James E. Jackson, which Coleman attended.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was this class conducted?

Mrs. BALDWIN. It was conducted here in Detroit at 1310 Broadway.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it a class in a school or just a separately organized class?

Mrs. BALDWIN. These classes, which began the first part of 1947, were educational classes put out preparatory to setting up the Michigan School of Social Science, which in itself was a school whereby they taught courses that were from 8 to 10 weeks in length.

Mr. TAVENNER. This was a forerunner of it?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of the regularly organized school?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did persons attend those schools who were not members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Oh, no.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did one arrange to attend classes of that kind?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That was reported to us in our individual club meetings, that such and such a class would be given and we were asked to attend for Marxist education, and that was the beginning of the stress and concentration on Marxist-Lenin education.

Mr. TAVENNER. Coleman Young attended one of the classes which you attended?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes, he did. I might add further that Coleman was a regular visitor to district 7 office during the time that I was secretary there. It seemed that he had various problems that came up in the Progressive Party that he would want to take up with the leaders of the Communist Party. He held many meetings there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Many meetings in the headquarters of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes. With Carl Winter and Saul Wellman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us any other information regarding Coleman Young?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Not that I recall at this time, I couldn't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, this is a convenient place for a break.

Mr. WOOD. We will take a recess for 15 minutes.

(A short recess was taken.)

AFTER RECESS

Mr. WOOD. Let us have order, please. Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

I would like to ask you, Mrs. Baldwin, regarding the names of several other persons whom you may have had opportunity to see at Communist Party meetings. I believe, all the persons whose names I am going to ask you about were members of the Communist Party cells within the Ford plants. I understand you had several opportunities for sitting in Communist Party meetings with persons from cells within the Ford plant; meetings, such as conferences, and meetings where representatives attended, rather than the cell meetings themselves, is that correct?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes, that is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have an opportunity, at any time, to sit in a Communist Party meeting, or to otherwise be able to identify as a member of the Communist Party, Leo T. Orsage?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes. I personally entered his application into the party. As to his activities, I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. Ed Lock?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Yes. He was in many closed Communist sessions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Which you have attended?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Which I have attended.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with a person by the name of Archie Acciaccia, A-c-c-i-a-c-c-a, I believe it is spelled?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Acciaccia is known to me in name only. That name has been handed down on my lists from the Frederick Douglas, transferred from the fourteenth to the fourth section. He is unknown to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Although he is unknown to you, personally, yet, in the performance of your official duties as a functionary of the party, you were required to deal with his name?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I was required to deal with his name. I was required to issue him cards.

Mr. TAVENNER. Dave Moore.

Mrs. BALDWIN. Dave Moore; at various times he was very active in party State conferences and other closed meetings, and I have many times had opportunity for his association.

Mr. TAVENNER. Paul Boatin?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Paul Boatin is very well known about, and has been very active, and has also handed in reports on the fourth section at closed Communist meetings, conferences, and so forth, at which I had attended.

Mr. TAVENNER. John Gallo?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Likewise, is John Gallo.

Mr. TAVENNER. Nelson Davis?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Nelson Davis has been in the party, well, I remember him from 1943. He has the one reputation of being the sub-getter.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean, "sub-getter?"

Mrs. BALDWIN. He always, most always, led in getting subscriptions to the Communist Party, the Worker, the Daily Worker, the Michigan Herald, the Michigan Worker, and the Daily Worker, of course.

Mr. TAVENNER. Harold Franklin?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Harold Franklin is a worker at Ford's and attended party school, or classes. I should say, taught by Hy Gordon, a person sent here from the national office for educational purposes.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean, Hy Gordon was sent for that purpose?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That is right. Hy Gordon was sent to Detroit, to the Detroit area from the National Communist Party office, on a national tour in 1947, the first part of it. He taught this class, which lasted one whole Sunday. I believe it began early in the morning. Harold Franklin attended that class, as well as his wife.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know him by any nickname?

Mrs. BALDWIN. No, I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is, Harold Franklin: do you know him by any nickname?

Mrs. BALDWIN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of this Hy Gordon, a functionary from the city of New York, conducting an educational class. What was the general nature of the class which he conducted?

Mrs. BALDWIN. It was a literature forum, where he went into full detail about literature, and the type of literature to print and to purchase. He went from there into the financial aspect of literature.

Mr. TAVENNER. In speaking of the literature which he recommended, what type of literature are you speaking of?

Mrs. BALDWIN. He was speaking more on the subject of writers, and how, if they were reactionaries, you could sell their books, and, through these books, you could spread propaganda, if the book, in itself, contained enough romantic material to gain the attention of the people, that they would read the book. He also brought out the segregation of the Negroes in this book that one of the writers, well, I have forgotten which—which was uppermost in my mind at that time. One writer had written a book denouncing the Negro race, and, a few years later, discovered he had Negro blood, and, Hy Gordon brought out very clearly the slip; that had people known he had been a Negro at that time, they would not have purchased his book, regardless of the subject matter.

Mr. TAVENNER. In this course that he gave, in which he emphasized literature that was to be read, was it Communist Party literature to which he was referring?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Well, my interpretation of it was, that if you could write a book that was romantic enough, and could gain the attention of the people to be a best seller, that would be a wonderful way of spreading propaganda.

Mr. TAVENNER. For Communist propaganda?

Mrs. BALDWIN. For Communist propaganda.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say, Harold Franklin was one of those who attended this class being conducted by Hy Gordon. Can you give us the names of others who attended?

Mrs. BALDWIN. His wife, known to me as Mary McIntyre. I had dealings with her on CP dues and membership data while she was living in Ann Arbor. Carneller Foreman, who is known to practically every member in the party; a member of the Nat Turner group, attended. Peggy Wellman, the wife of Saul Wellman, the national labor coordinator, sent here from the national office of the Communist Party. Frank Martin, of the Nat Turner group and Aldo Sandretto, of first congressional group; Maurice Cook, Midtown group; Mildred Pollock, formerly of local 155, who was transferred out of the party to State unknown in 1947. Hope Smith, an officer of the fourteenth congressional group; Fred Jones, a member of the Nat Turner group; and Esther Siegel, of the Midtown group; and Leonard Lauderdale. He was from out of town, and would come down here to attend meetings. I don't know what group he was attached to.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of any business association between Esther Siegel and Leonard Lauderdale, or Leonard Cohen, I am not sure which?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Cohen.

Mr. TAVENNER. Leonard Cohen.

Mrs. BALDWIN. Leonard Cohen and Esther Siegel set up a memotyping station, whereby they would memotype leaflets or other material needed and requested by the various groups throughout the city for nominal sums.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you continue, please?



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MRS. BALDWIN. Ann Boatin, the wife of Paul Boatin, was active in the party, to my knowledge, since 1944. Mary Page Reed Davis has been active in the party for many years, and, at one time, had a technical station set-up, in which she and Mary Bray were partners, to do progressive work, and they did not conform strictly to Communist Party literature, material and leaflets, and so forth, and they were just a little broader in that respect. She is now a secretary to Ford local 600. Walter Dorosh has been very active in the Communist press work, and is also a worker at Ford Motor, and belongs to the Communist group within that section. Tersil T. Obriot. Tersil, I should say, has practically knocked himself out on press work here. Whenever there has been a paper to sell and leaflet to distribute, he was always there. He belonged to Ford Motor, and is Communist member leader of that section. He is very active. Kenneth Roach is also a Ford worker, and has been a Ford worker, and, I believe, is attached to some local now. My memory recalls he is in the publicity section of it. He was very active from 1946, 1947, through that period, on press work. I worked with him directly. We would meet at what later became known as the Ford section headquarters, 5642 Michigan. Celia Edwards is the wife of Byron Edwards, who has also been known to work at Ford's. Whether he is working there now, I don't know. She attended a class with me at the School of Social Science, at which Oscar Rhodes instructed on the science of society. That was held in 1948. Art McPhaul; I think he is known to practically every Ford member in the Dearborn section. He is well known to them, and, I am sure, he is well known to the Ford division in that center.

MR. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he occupied any position in the Civil Rights Congress?

MRS. BALDWIN. Yes. I believe he is chairman of the Civil Rights Congress at present.

MR. TAVENNER. He has appeared, also, on the witness stand, Mr. Chairman.

MRS. BALDWIN. Dave Mates, that is, known to me as Dave Mates, having heard his name in party circles, belonging to the UE local, and, I was told from reliable sources, he and his wife, Lydia Mates, at one time were chairmen of the Indiana Communist Party. Harold Robertson, Ford Motor, also Communist Party section. He was very, very active, having at one time held the position of dues secretary for a given group. He reported to me. Leo Cottrell has been lost in the last few years, but, prior to that time, he was very active in the party; usually attended all party meetings. Olga Zenchuck belonged, and is attached to the packinghouse local. She has been very, very active within that local. She has attended closed meetings. She has had problems which she has taken up with district 7 leadership on many occasions, and is, at present, I believe, in the local. Kathryn Lynch.

MR. TAVENNER. How is the first—what is the first letter of the name Kathryn; is it K or C?

MRS. BALDWIN. K; Kathryn Lynch. She was attached to the Frederick Douglas group. When the breakdown came, she disappeared—what I mean, she disappeared, she left the city. She is a former Detroit Free Press reporter. She left Detroit in 1944, and it is believed, but not confirmed, that she is a reporter for the publication Tass in Washington, D. C. Hodges Mason is a well-known figure.

He is a real rank and filer. You could probably find him in almost any picket strike session. He is quiet and orderly, but he is there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, all of these persons whose names you have given, are persons who attended the class of Hy Gordon, the Communist functionary who came here from New York to conduct this class?

Mrs. BALDWIN. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was this class conducted by Hy Gordon restricted to members of the Communist Party, Mrs. Baldwin?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Everyone here was there. We had a registrar, and, how I happened to be so familiar with the names, I was the registrar.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of Nelson Davis being a subgetter, and having been very successful at it. Did he, at any time, win a prize for his work in obtaining subscriptions or recruiting, and was given a free trip to New York, with all his expenses paid?

Mrs. BALDWIN. He certainly did, and, he came back and told us all about the trip.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party on February 11, 1951, in connection with your assignment?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you on February 12?

Mrs. BALDWIN. I was not. That is the day I took the stand at Washington, D. C.

Mr. TAVENNER. I meant, 1952, instead of 1951.

Mrs. BALDWIN. I thought you did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Since February 12, 1952, your sources of information have dried up, is that not true?

Mrs. BALDWIN. Slightly.

Mr. TAVENNER. Slightly.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Counsel, in view of the fact that the committee has already determined, as has been previously stated, to seek authority to return here at some later date and finish the hearing that we have undertaken, I don't feel that we should stay here longer than today, and I am going to adjourn the committee, subject to call. Before I do, I will be glad to have any remarks from Mr. Jackson and Mr. Potter.

Mr. JACKSON. I have a request, Mr. Chairman. In order that I not introduce extraneous or hearsay matter, I should like to request that my remarks concerning Mr. Cherveny be stricken from the record wherever they appear.

Mr. WOOD. All right.

Mr. JACKSON. Mrs. Baldwin, I should like to express my thanks, as a member of the committee, to you for your appearance and for your testimony. You have shared a very difficult experience with a number of others who, on behalf of their country, followed a course of action which brought them, for a period of time, into the ranks of the Communist Party. In many instances, following that course of action shut them off from their friends and associates during the period they were in the party. The American people have no way of expressing directly to you their thanks. You will receive abuse and vilification from those who are a part and parcel of an international conspiracy. I should like to say, as one representative of the American people, that I feel you have rendered a tremendous service to human freedom and to our country.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter, any remarks?

Mr. POTTER. Mr. Chairman, there has been a request that further identification be made on a Mr. Hugo Beiswenger, Sr., a fellow who was mentioned in the testimony of Mr. Salisbury on Wednesday. The records of the committee disclose that in 1944, Hugo Beiswenger was issued party card No. 48273 of the Jackson branch of the Communist Party, Jackson, Mich. I hope that will be a further identification of Mr. Beiswenger.

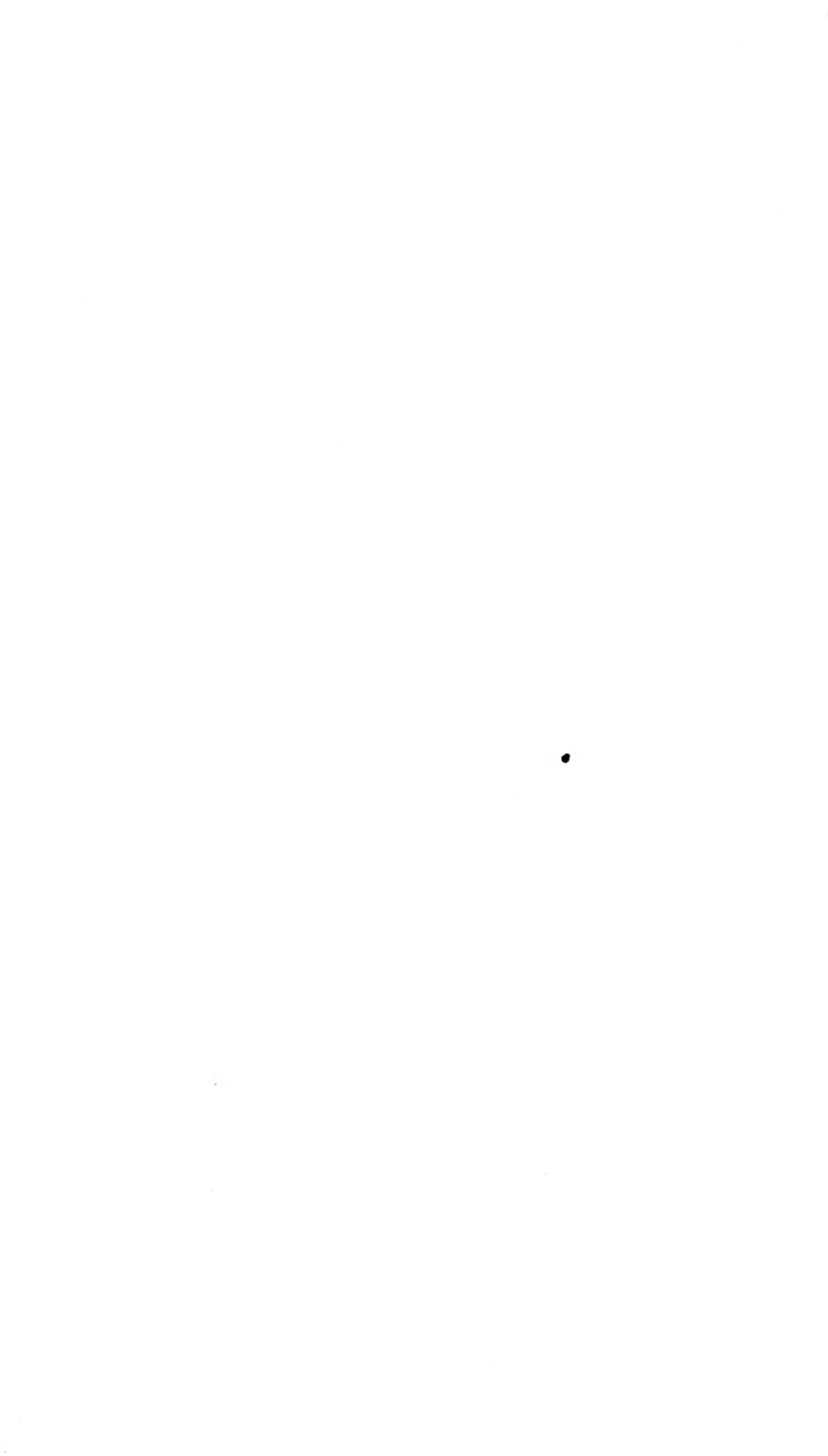
I, too, Mr. Chairman, wish to comment on not only the appearance of Mrs. Baldwin here, but to let her know of the respect in which she is held by the American people for taking the task that was assigned her in the first instance: that of infiltrating a party, which has caused you, at times, to sever yourself from your friends and neighbors, and denied you the normal living which others of us have enjoyed. You know, men in combat receive decorations for gallant service. I can think of no person who is more worthy of a decoration for gallantry than you, Mrs. Baldwin. Thank you.

Mr. WOOD. Mrs. Baldwin, I join in the words that have been spoken by my colleagues with reference to your appearance here, and of your service to your country and to the cause of democratic government everywhere throughout the world. I would like to remind you that you are still under subpoena of this committee, and, upon its return here, you will be called upon to conclude your testimony by giving such additional information as you may be in possession of. It is regretted very deeply by me, as chairman of the committee, and the subcommittee, that we are not able to complete it now. You will be notified of the time, tentatively the 10th of March.

In adjourning these hearings subject to call, I wish to take this opportunity to thank those individuals and agencies of Detroit who have so generously cooperated with the committee. We are particularly grateful to the chief justice of the district court, the Honorable Arthur F. Lederle, and associate justices for the use of their facilities, and the Michigan State Police for their uniform assistance to the committee staff and to the committee itself; and to the Detroit Police Force for their technical assistance to the staff, as well as their cooperation with the committee during our stay here; and to the office of the United States marshal for effecting service of our subpoenas, and their assistance during the hearings; and the Detroit Loyalty Board and their personnel, and the superintendent of the building, along with all others too numerous to mention. In extending these thanks, I wish to compliment the work of the press and radio that have covered these hearings. Their cooperation with the committee, their full and factual coverage of these proceedings, is deeply appreciated by the committee, and, I am sure, by the Michigan public. Last, to the host of Detroit citizens, who have evidenced such widespread interest in the work of the committee, and who have contributed so warmly and generously to the pleasure of our stay here.

With those remarks, the committee will stand in recess, subject to call.

(Whereupon the committee was recessed at 4:30 p. m., sine die.)



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